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INDIA
ITS CONDITION, RELIGION,
AND
MISSIONS.

BY
REV. JAMES BRADBURY,
THIRTY-FOUR YEARS MISSIONARY IN INDIA.

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AS A TOKEN OF AFFECTION,

This Book

IS DEDICATED TO THE AUTHOR'S BELOVED BROTHER,

ROBERT BRADBURY.



P R E F A C E.

IN the service of the London Missionary Society the Author laboured in Calcutta, Chinsurah, and Berhampore. During the period of his residence in India, many subjects bearing on its present or former state more or less occupied his thoughts, and among them those treated of in the following pages, relating to its social, civil, and sacred institutions, the secular and religious education of the inhabitants, their condition, and character. On some of these topics he wrote in the *Calcutta Christian Observer* and the *Calcutta Review*. He has endeavoured to see things and to speak of them as they really are, and consequently hopes he has not done injustice to the country, or to any branch of the Church engaged there in the work of missions.

CONTENTS.



CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
THE ABORIGINES OF INDIA	1

CHAPTER II.

HINDOO CHRONOLOGY	11
-----------------------------	----

CHAPTER III.

APPEARANCE — DRESS — SACRED THREAD — JEWELS — UMBRELLAS—PRAYING MACHINES—ROSARIES—VEDAS —POORANOS—PRAYING BIRDS—NAMES—HOUSES— FOOD—COURTESY—VISITS—CEREMONIOUS GIFTS .	26
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE HINDOOS ON RELIGION AND MORALS	51
---	----

CHAPTER V.

THE TENURE OF LAND AND THE CONDITION OF THE PEASANT-FARMERS	60
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

THE INSTITUTION OF CASTE	82
------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER VII.

THE WORSHIP OF THE GANGES	96
-------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER VIII.

	PAGE
THE CHARACTER OF THE HINDOOS	102

CHAPTER IX.

THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE	123
---------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER X.

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES	134
-----------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XI.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA	143
------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XII.

ASCETICS	170
--------------------	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

EDUCATION	177
---------------------	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

NATIVE CHRISTIANS	204
-----------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XV.

ITINERATING	215
-----------------------	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

THE UNION OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES	226
---	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

THE INDIAN ORIGIN OF THE GIPSIES	242
--	-----

INDIA:

ERRATA.

Page 56, line 12 from top, for <i>services</i>	read	<i>service.</i>
" 134, " 18 " " <i>the disease</i>	"	<i>disease.</i>
" 138, " 6 " " <i>maylat</i>	"	<i>may eat.</i>
" 194, " 1 " " <i>Mondee</i>	"	<i>Nondee.</i>
" 217, " 18 " " <i>assembly</i>	"	<i>assembling.</i>
" 223, " 12 " " <i>Burbhoom</i>	"	<i>Beerbhoom.</i>
" 244, " 31 " " <i>bag</i>	"	<i>bags.</i>
" 252, " 6, column 9 of TABLE, for <i>rhokh</i>	read	<i>chokh.</i>
" " " 10, " 6 " " <i>yague</i>	"	<i>yaque.</i>
" " " 14, " " " <i>u</i>	read <i>n</i> in the words	
<i>sounakie, souna, soukai, souacai, souneka.</i>		
" " " 17, column 2 of TABLE, for <i>ballo</i>	read	<i>balloo.</i>
" 253, " 14, " 2 " " <i>rance</i>	"	<i>ranee.</i>
" " " 22, " 3 " " <i>chie</i>	"	<i>chee.</i>
" " " 24, " 4 " " <i>gone</i>	"	<i>gove.</i>

Mankind confined themselves, most likely, for several ages to the regions in the immediate vicinity of the mountain where the ark rested on the disappearing of the deluge, and did not spread over a wider space of the earth till their increasing numbers became too great for the limits of their primitive abode. Those who journeyed towards

India may have crossed the Indus near Attoch, and thence proceeded through the Ponjab, the region of the five rivers. This was the route of Alexander the Great, and of the Mohammedan invaders, Tamerlane and Nadir Shah. That the tide of population flowed into India from the above direction does not, it is true, admit of demonstration, yet it seems highly probable ; for, though ignorant of the exact position of the country, the Hindoos believe that, in a land situated to the north of the one they now inhabit, Voivaswoto, the Indian Noah, received the Vedas from Vishnoo, and there, together with the other holy persons that survived the flood, lived according to the social, civil, and sacred polity observed at the present day. Hence their pious veneration for the north, towards which they look as the direction in which lies the cradle of their race, and the earliest seat of Brahmonic worship. "When the student is going to read the Veda, he must perform an oblation as the law ordains, with his face to the north, and having paid scriptural homage, he must receive instruction, wearing a clean vest, his members being duly composed."¹

The Hindoos entered India, no doubt, at a very distant age, yet they seem not to have been the first settlers. Many events which are narrated in the history of their ancient kings have evident relation to the acquiring and exercising of authority over uncivilized regions and barbarous tribes. The Pooranos, the institutes of Monoo, the Ramayon and Mohabharot heroic poems, contain passages which point to a period when the inhabitants of Bengal, the Deccan, and other portions of India, were a rude race, altogether unacquainted with the ritual of the disciples of Brohma. That the Hindoos not only conquered, but otherwise deeply injured the ancient inhabitants of the land, is more than probable, for they speak of them, as oppressors usually do of their

¹ Monoo, ii. 70.

victims, with hatred and contempt. Their progenitor, who is said to have been a child of Mohadeb¹ and of a beautiful woman whom he met in the forest, is declared to have been from his infancy noted for ugliness and vice.

According to another statement, he was born without a mother, being produced from the thigh of Vena, a king who was slain for his impiety, beaten to death with blades of holy grass consecrated by the prayers of saints. In this miraculous way he came forth, having, it is affirmed, flattened features, a dwarfish stature, and the complexion of a charred stake. His descendants are portrayed as black as a crow, with short arms and legs, a protuberant belly, projecting chin, broad flat nose, wide mouth, large ears, red eyes, tawny hair, and the exterior tokens of depravity.² Such is the caricature which the Brahmons draw of the aboriginal tribes. There is, however, in reality, nothing remarkable in their appearance. Speaking of them generally they may be said to be an active, a strong and hardy race, and, owing to their out-door life and great exposure to the sun, to be darker than the people in the plains.

They are spread over the declivities of the Himalaya, the Vindhya, and the Satpoora ranges, the Deccan and the Central Provinces, and number about eighteen millions.

In their state they differ from each other much—present to the view men almost naked, having on only an apron made of the leaves or bark of trees, or a narrow piece of cotton cloth round the waist; others wearing a jacket and wide trousers, or a kilt ornamented with shells, and a robe striped red and white, crossed over the breast and shoulders, and extended to the calf of the leg. During

¹ One of the Hindoo triad, which consists of Brohma, the creator; Vishnoo, the preserver; and Shivo, otherwise called Mohadeb, the destroyer.

² Vishnoo, Poorano, B. i. ch. xiii. pp. 99, 100, 101. See also the Metsy, the Bhagabot, and Podmo Pooranos.

winter, those who can afford it, use for outer covering a dark-coloured blanket, or a woollen garment which in shape resembles a cloak. Women may be seen with a rag round the loins, and the rest of the person uncovered; but the raiment of all is not so scanty. Some have a cloth sixteen inches wide, which goes round the waist and reaches about half-way to the knees, others wear a bodice and a petticoat, or a long loose garment like a gown. The weapons of the aborigines are bows and arrows, battle-axes, swords, and long spears. A few have imported muskets. Their defensive armour is a shield, which is generally formed of the hide of the gyll, and ornamented in the inside with small pendulous plates of brass.

The number of those that subsist mainly by the chase is decreasing fast. Now most persons pay a degree of attention to agricultural pursuits, and live on the produce of their fields, and some are rich in flocks and herds. Their houses have earthen or wattled walls; the doors, made of bamboo, divided into slips, smoothed and interwoven, are fastened, like the lid of a basket, with hinges of the same material; the roof is thatched with grass, and rests on wooden posts. Here and there are to be seen better looking and more substantial habitations. Their food, respecting which they have few restrictions, chiefly consists of rice and fish, several kinds of pulse and indigenous roots. In beer, made from rice and other grain, in palm wine, and in a strong spirituous liquor distilled from the flowers of the mohwa tree,¹ they freely indulge.

Marriage is instituted among them, and everywhere more or less respected. In nuptial contracts the preliminary steps are taken by parents, or in a council composed of neighbours and friends, or, intervening agency being dispensed with, the young people are left quite free to consult

¹ Mohwa, *bassia latifolia*.

and follow their own inclinations. The custom of burial prevails in some tribes, and that of cremation in others. Obsequies, differing in character and in the length of their duration, are performed over the pyres and graves of the dead, and almost every funeral is followed by a feast, given by the bereaved family as a mark of respect and affection for their deceased relative.

A belief in witchcraft is prevalent. The persons suspected of dealing in the black art are in general bad-tempered, shrivelled, ugly old women. Before the interposition of English law, they were doomed to suffer death. It is estimated that annually about a hundred perished in Malwa, and probably as many more were destroyed every year in each of the neighbouring states. Of all superstitions, witchcraft seems to have been the most widely diffused; the prohibitory laws and sanguinary inflictions of every people bear testimony to its universal prevalence. It long continued to affect the minds of civilized men; for not till after many ages of progressive advancement in religion, literature, and science, has it been wholly discarded in any part of the globe. Britain murdered her last victim so late as the year seventeen hundred and twenty-two; therefore, its still lingering among rude mountaineers and foresters can hardly be a matter of surprise. Education may do much to extirpate it, but the process will be slow. Mr. Wellesley recommended what would more quickly root it out. When Resident at Indore, he suggested to the Prime Minister of that State, to subject informers to the same ordeal as the persons they accused—to throw them into a deep pool. Tantia Jogh was much pleased with the advice, and declared that on all occasions he would follow it. The result was the rapid disappearance of witches from that portion of India.¹

¹ Malcolm's "Central India," vol. ii. p. 217.

Possessing some glimmerings of a future state where men are to be rewarded and punished for what they have done in the present life, all the aborigines believe in the existence of superior beings, authors of good and evil, to whom they pray, and present fowls, pigs, goats, sheep, bulls, cows, buffaloes, and spirituous liquors. The Khonds offered human sacrifices as recently as 1854, in which year the British Government entirely suppressed them. In the period between 1837 and 1854, the number of victims rescued from death amounted to one thousand five hundred and six. The men and women who had relations were restored to their homes, and those who were friendless were supported at the charge of the State. The children were sent to different educational establishments. About two hundred were placed in the mission-schools in the low country, and, on finishing their studies, some of them, distinguished for their piety and talents, voluntarily returned to their native hills in the capacity of Christian teachers.¹ To benevolent gods are attributed preservation from venomous reptiles and savage beasts, continuance of health, increase of cattle, and plentiful crops; and to the malevolent are ascribed quarrels in families, wars between tribes, bodily distempers, bad harvests, murrain, misery, sorrow, and death. Some of the tribes deify the tiger, and also epidemic diseases, such as the cholera and the small-pox, which at times make dreadful ravages among them.

Between the Hindoos and the aboriginal tribes, there are not only religious but linguistic differences. Like mountains, seas, and rivers, which separate countries, languages separate peoples. Nations driven together by the hard vicissitudes of war, or united for the advancement of their

¹ "A Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan, for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice," by Major-General John Campbell, C.B., pp. 262-266.

common welfare, have seldom amalgamated without leaving traces behind that distinguish the foreigner from the native. No characteristic points out more clearly the people of a country or nation than a difference of dialect or language, and no characteristic is more lasting. Their manners, customs, and dress may change ; their civil and sacred polity may pass away ; yet their speech, like that of the Ephraimites at the fords of the Jordan,¹ continues to betray them. Hence a great difference in language renders it highly probable that the foresters and mountaineers are a people distinct from the Brahmonic race ; and, as some of their languages are very dissimilar to each other, it may be presumed that originally they formed not one but several nations. Whether they came to India at different periods, and entered it at different points, some at the north-east and others at the north-west, which has been conjectured, cannot with any degree of certainty be now determined, for it is a subject on which history sheds no light.

The regions inhabited by the aboriginal tribes present a promising and widely extended field for missionary enterprise. The temperature, though not in all places to the same degree, is agreeably cold, and the hills which have been cleared are little inferior to the most salubrious portions of Europe. On these missionaries might fix their permanent abode, and itinerate among the villages situated in the distant jungle and forest, in December, January, February, and March, during which months there would be no danger of fever produced by malaria, which in the rains, and for some time after they have ceased, prevails in uncleared districts.

The absence of caste in nearly all the aboriginal tribes is highly favourable to the diffusion of religious truth and the permanent success of missions. This will be

¹ Judges xii. 5, 6.

admitted by every one who knows anything of the history of Christianity in India. No institution was ever formed that afforded greater facilities to strengthen the arm of oppression and uphold the reign of terror than caste, and no barrier presented to the moral and religious improvement of the people has been so formidable. It allows no transition from one class to another, or any connexion between them by marriage ; forbids a man to assume the station in life which nature probably designed him to fill, and condemns him from the day of his birth to the close of his existence, to pursue one particular line of conduct, from which he cannot deviate without suffering the keenest of all human woes,—the severment of the dearest ties, having the door of his home shut against him, and being sent adrift upon the wide world, disowned by his relations, despised by his countrymen, and unfavoured with the sympathy of the strangers among whom he is compelled to wander. Such is the hard lot of the Hindoo who has transgressed the rules of caste. But nearly all the aboriginal tribes are left as nature designed they should be, free to choose their connexions, opinions, food and calling, without exposing themselves to the penalties of unjust laws, the loss of friends, or the vengeance of enemies.

The absence of a corrupt priesthood in most of the tribes will, in the event of missions being established among them, contribute in no ordinary degree to their moral and spiritual improvement. No set of men ever exercised a more powerful and destructive influence over a people, and maintained it under a better appearance of outward sanctity, than the Brahmons. That they are capable of the greatest cruelty is evident from the unexampled sufferings to which they have consigned offenders. That they do not chastise their countrymen now must be attributed not to any change which has taken place in them or their religion, but to the

just and enlightened government of their foreign masters, which has deprived them of the power. As they are hereditary priests, born to live on the delusions of the people, deceit, avarice, and every evil passion are enlisted on the side of error, and, whatever may be their individual opinions, as long as they can obtain from the wealth of the rich and the pittance of the poor sufficient to free them from the necessity of labour, they will continue to be advocates of Hindooism and opponents of the Gospel.

The tendency of ancient records to render superstition venerable, and to bias the mind against any statement which may oppose their authority, must be apparent to every one. Men are naturally attached to the opinions of their forefathers, for they inherit opinions as well as estates. Whether their sacred books be hoary with age or of recent date, have a good or evil influence, they read them with implicit faith and uninquiring minds. Millions begin, continue, and finish their course as disciples of Brohma, governed in every step they take through this to another life by the authority of records held to be divine. Superstition is thus perpetuated from one generation to another, for to the most earnest appeals and a train of the most powerful reasoning, if he can say the contrary is written in the Shastros, a Hindoo considers he has answered in a satisfactory and masterly manner. If it be borne in mind that the Gospel has numbered the most converts in the South Sea Islands, the West Indies, South Africa, and other places where such records are unknown, and that it has numbered the fewest in lands where they are regarded as oracles, it will be at once admitted that the absence of these books among the aboriginal tribes must greatly facilitate their conversion to Christianity.

The result of efforts to evangelize the mountaineers and foresters is of an encouraging nature. The mission

among the Coles, who inhabit the hilly country of Chota Nagpore, is one of the most prosperous in the Bengal Presidency. More than 40,000 of the tribe have embraced the Christian faith. This mission is but of recent date compared with many in the plains. In the cold season of 1841-42, I accompanied my esteemed friend, the late Mr. De Rodt, in a journey through the Colehan, which lasted nearly three months. Mr. John Alexander, a gentleman of Calcutta, promised to support a mission there, and requested the London Society to undertake it. We were deputed to collect information about the state of different parts of the country, the condition, customs, religion, and language of the people. In our report we strongly recommended a mission being established, but the Society was not, at the time, able to send the requisite number of agents. The work was begun in the year 1845 by a band of devoted German missionaries, whom I had the pleasure of seeing as guests when on the way to the scene of their labours.

Most of the missions established among other tribes have been favoured, like that of the Coles, with a large number of converts, whose devout and manly piety does honour to the Christian name.

CHAPTER II.

HINDOO CHRONOLOGY.

THE people of India lay claim to a very great antiquity, but the period in which the founders of their empires lived is involved in thick darkness. Laborious researches concerning it have been long prosecuted, yet little correct knowledge has been acquired. If disposed to wander in the regions of fiction, and give the reins to a wild imagination, ample materials may be collected which will apparently support the most extravagant hypothesis; but to ascertain what is certain or probable, we must leave the regions of fiction to those who have an appetite for the marvellous, and be guided in the way of inquiry by the lights of history, and where these go out, put a period to our journey. The legends and traditions said to have been transmitted from remote generations, and often used to supply the place of authentic documents, are seldom worthy of belief. Vanity is a passion which nations as well as individuals cherish, and never do they indulge it with less restraint than when speaking of their pretensions to a high antiquity. The Athenians boasted they were as ancient as the sun, and the Arcadians declared they were older than the moon. The Egyptians and the Chinese pretend to an antiquity of myriads of ages. The Burmese gravely inform us that if during three years it should rain incessantly over the whole

surface of the earth, the number of drops of rain falling in the time would not equal the number of years contained in the life of a primitive inhabitant of their country. Such is the vanity of nations.

Dividing time into several ages, and assigning to each a name descriptive of its character, as golden, silver, brazen, or iron,—the custom of the Greeks and Romans is observed in the system of Indian chronology,—Krita, Treta, Dwapor, and Koli, are the names given to the respective ages.

The duration of the Krita age is 1,728,000 years.

„	Treta	„	1,296,000	„
„	Dwapor	„	864,000	„
„	Koli	„	432,000	„
<hr/>				
			4,320,000	„

The aggregate of these four great periods is called a divine age.

“In the Krita age the genius of truth and right, in the form of a bull, stands firm on his four feet; nor does any advantage accrue to men from iniquity. But in the following ages, by reason of unjust gains, he is deprived successively of one foot; and even just emoluments, through the prevalence of theft, falsehood, and fraud, are gradually diminished by a fourth part. Men, free from disease, attain all sorts of prosperity, and live four hundred years in the Krita age; but, in the Treta and the succeeding ages, their life is lessened gradually by one quarter. The rewards of good works are proportioned among men to the order of the four ages. Some duties are performed by good men in the Krita age; others in the Treta; some in the Dwapor; others in the Koli; in proportion as those ages decrease in length. In the Krita, the prevailing virtue is declared to be devotion; in the Treta, divine knowledge; in the Dwapor, holy sages call sacrifice the duty chiefly performed;

in the Koli, liberality alone."¹ The virtues, the stature, and the duration of the lives of men decrease in each succeeding age. The character of the ages, however, is said to depend on the condition and conduct of the king. "Sleeping, he represents the Koli age; waking, the Dwapor; exerting himself in action, the Treta; living virtuously, the Sotyo."² ³

We have, however, information relating to more exalted beings than those who people the present world. "A month of mortals," we are told, "is a day and night of the patriarchs inhabiting the moon; a year of mortals is a day and night of the gods, or regents of the universe, seated round the north pole."⁴ A day of Bromha, the father of the gods, including a thousand divine ages, numbers four billions three hundred and twenty millions of ordinary years, and his night is of equal duration."⁵ At the close of each day he retires to rest, and calmly sleeps till the morning. During his repose, the world is destroyed; but the sages and the gods survive. On awaking, he remakes the earth and its inhabitants. Such creations and destructions of worlds are innumerable.⁶ Such days and nights form a year of Bromha. Every hundred years he dies. The elements of which the universe is composed, men, the sages, and the gods, perish. After an interval of vast duration, he revives and creates all anew. In a hundred years again he dies. Thus a state of being and of annihilation follow each other in regular succession, as the spokes in a revolving wheel; and, like the wheel, they have no end.

¹ Monoo, i. 81-86.

² Sotyo is sometimes used for Krita; it means true, real; Krita means done, performed, effected, accomplished.

³ Monoo, ix. 301, 302.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 72, 73.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 66, 67.

⁶ *Ibid.* i. 74, 80.

Bromha must not be confounded with Bromho, the Supreme Being. Of the latter, the following words are often used, both in the writings and the conversation of the people of India : "Ek Bromho dwiteeyo nasti"—one Bromho without a second. Insulated he is in all matter, in all spirits ; all forms of life emanate from him, and eventually return to their source. His normal state is repose, in which he is nir-goon¹—that is, without qualities or attributes ; waking to consciousness, endued with qualities,² he unites himself to Maya,³ personified creative energy. When thus united, on one occasion he made Bromha, the creator ; Vishnoo, the preserver ; and Shivo, the destroyer of the world.⁴ Indeed, the alternate conditions of his being are ages of repose and moments of wakefulness, during which, in union with the mysterious Maya, he puts forth his strength.

During every day of Bromha we are presented with a series of dynasties : fourteen monoos, or patriarchal kings, successively attain the sovereignty of the earth, and each royal house reigns throughout a monwontoro, a period comprehending 308,448,000 years. The first monarch was the progenitor of the human race, but of his times and those of the heads of the next five dynasties little intelligence is afforded. The seventh monarch, Voivoswoto, the sun-born, swayed the sceptre of the earth the whole period of the golden age, 1,728,000 years. He had ten sons. Before their birth, being desirous of male issue, he offered a sacri-

¹ *Nir*, without ; *goon*, qualities, attributes.

² *Sar-goon*—*sar*, with ; *goon*, qualities.

³ *Maya* sometimes means idealism, illusion, imposition on the senses, the unreality of matter ; which accords with the theory maintained by Bishop Berkeley, that material objects have no other existence than in the mind.

⁴ This is one of the many different accounts of the creation given in the writings of the Hindoos.

fice to Mitro¹ and Voroona²; but the rite being deranged through an irregularity of the officiating priest, a daughter, called Ila, was born. By the favour of the divinities, however, her sex was changed—she became a man, and was named Sudyumna; but afterwards, owing to a malediction pronounced by Shivo, Sudyumna was transformed to a woman in the vicinity of the hermitage of Booddho, the son of the god of the moon. Booddho saw and espoused her; and she had by him a son named Pururavas, a prince renowned for devotion, munificence, love of truth, and personal beauty.³ Hence, the descendants of the patriarch were divided into two branches—one called after himself the children of the sun, and the other the children of the moon, after the father of his daughter's husband.

The country between the Ganges and the Jumna formed the kingdom of the solar branch, and the regions on the eastern side of the confluence of those rivers the kingdom of the lunar. Ramø, whose martial deeds make him the glory of the solar race, is supposed to have ascended the throne about the end of the silver age. Between this distinguished monarch and Icswachu, the father of the solar line, 1,296,000 years intervened, and fifty-five princes are named who during that period successively attained sovereign power, so their reigns averaged 23,563 years. During the brazen age, of 864,000 years, we have a list of thirty potentates, so that each, on an average, ruled 28,800 years. The children of the moon reigned throughout the same periods; but their list of princes for the silver and brazen ages contains fifteen less than the roll of their contemporaries; consequently, their lives must have been much longer than those of the solar kings.

¹ One of the names of the god Soorjyo, the sun.

² The god of waters.

³ Vishnoo Poorano, B. IV. ch. i. pp. 348, 350; also B. IV. ch. vi. p. 394.

Besides the solar and lunar potentates, the Hindoo writings mention the princes of Mogodho, an independent kingdom which Sahadeb established in the southern part of the province of Bahar. His descendants continued to reign, it is said, till the thousandth year of the iron age, when, Ripunjoy, the son of the twentieth monarch, being murdered by the prime minister of the day, the royal family became extinct, and Pradyota, the son of the assassin, was placed on the throne. The family of the usurper retained possession of the crown five hundred and ninety-eight years, during which time sixteen of its members were invested with royal power. Nanda the last prince of this house, was born of a woman of the Shoodra or servile class, and was put to death by Kantilya, a wicked sanguinary priest. The murderer, obtaining by this deed great influence in the councils of the nation, raised Chondrogupto of the Maurya race to the throne, whose family occupied it a hundred and thirty-seven years, when the commander of the forces, Pooshpomitro, of the Sunga tribe, having killed Vrihodrotho, his royal master, took possession of the throne. The number of the Sunga kings is stated to be ten, and the duration of their reigns one hundred and twelve years. Debabhuti, the last prince, is said to have been slain by his minister, the Kanwa, named Vasudeb, who seized the reins of government. Respecting the number of the Kanwa kings all authorities agree, and the Vishnoo, the Vayoo, and the Motsyo Pooranas mention the exact duration of each reign :—

Vasudeb,	9 years.
Bhoomimitro,	14 „
Narayan,	12 „
Susarman,	10 „
	—
	45 „

Susurman was killed by a powerful servant of mean birth, and of the Andhra tribe, who founded a new dynasty. The reign of Chondrobeej, who was the last of the Andhra race, ends the history of the ancient kingdom of Mogodho. The other royal houses mentioned in the Pooranos were not continuous but contemporary dynasties.

Having thus followed the Indian records as far as they conduct us in chronology, it now remains to consider the degree of credence of which they are worthy. This will be attended with many difficulties, and some perhaps wholly insurmountable. Fictitious and historical events are often interwoven, and different narrations of the same persons and things frequently given. About seventy-eight trillions, eight hundred and forty billions of years ago, the past period of Bromha's life, the earth is said to have been made, but during this time it has been repeatedly destroyed and re-created, so that the date of the first formation is not fixed to the globe we now inhabit. The history of the present world commences with the era of the last deluge, and of the account which the people of India give of that calamity a few particulars may be here mentioned. In the reign of the monarch Sotyooroto, a demon having purloined the Vedas, the Hindoo sacred books, from the custody of Bromha, while he was in a deep sleep, mankind, being destitute of divine instruction to guide them in the ways of God, became corrupt, and a profligacy almost universal pervaded the earth; only sixteen of its inhabitants continued to walk in the path of virtue and truth—the king and queen, seven Rishis¹ and their wives. While the pious prince was one day performing his ablutions, the deity appeared to him in the form of a fish, and thus addressed him:—"In seven days all creatures who have offended me shall be destroyed by a deluge, but thou shalt be secured in

¹ Sages, holy men.

a capacious vessel miraculously formed ; take therefore all kinds of medicinal herbs and esculent grain for food, and together with the seven holy men, your respective wives, and pairs of all animals, enter the ark without fear, and then shalt thou know God face to face, and all thy questions shall be answered." Having said this he disappeared. "After seven days the ocean began to overflow the coasts, and the earth to be flooded by constant showers, when Sotyooroto, meditating on the deity, saw a large vessel moving on the waters ; he entered it, having in all respects conformed to the instructions of Vishnoo, who in the form of a vast fish suffered the vessel to be tied with a great sea-serpent, as the cable, to his measureless horn. Vishnoo slew the demon and recovered the Vedas, instructed the king in divine knowledge, appointed him the seventh Monoo, and gave him the name of Voivoswoto, the sun-born."¹ Since the appointment of the Indian Noah to preside over the destinies of the world, it is computed that twenty-seven divine ages, besides a large portion of the twenty-eighth, have passed away—a period of one hundred and sixteen millions six hundred and forty thousand years.

Much learning and ingenuity have been expended in attempting to account, on astronomical computations, for the enormous periods of this wonderful chronology, but no consistent theory has been established ; the Hindoo scriptures set order, reason, and probability at defiance. They inform us that during every day of Brohma, fourteen patriarchs successively attain the sovereignty of the earth. The father of the gods has now entered on his fifty-first year, and for this period of his life the number of patriarchs should be 247,500, yet only seven are said to have appeared.

¹ "The Bhagovot Poorano," translated by Sir William Jones ; "Asiatic Researches," vol. ii. p. 118.

Of the seventh monwontoro, twenty-seven divine ages are believed to have elapsed; and, respecting them, Hindoo historians are as silent as death,—not the least intelligence is afforded. It is declared that the royal house of each Monoo reigns 308,448,000 years; and still it is affirmed that the family of the seventh monarch became extinct before a seventieth part of this period had expired. In the golden age, when the term of life did not exceed four hundred years, the Indian Noah managed to prolong his existence one million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years. The average of the reigns of the solar kings of the silver era was twenty-three thousand years, although three hundred then bounded the period of human life. During the brazen age, in which the life of man was reduced to two hundred years, the solar potentates are declared to have ruled on an average twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and ninety-three years.

Many other contradictions and absurdities might be pointed out; but these will be sufficient to show that, to elucidate this wonderful system of chronology, little assistance can be obtained from the writings of the Hindoos. The best method which can be adopted for ascertaining the truth will be to compare their writings with the historical productions of foreign nations that treat of India.

If the identity of Chondrogupto with Sandracottus, mentioned by the Greeks, can be established, the era of several native dynasties will be determined with some degree of certainty.

Nanda, who was the last prince of the house of Pradyoto, and, according to the Pooranos, a person of mean origin, had by one wife eight sons, who with himself were denominated the nine Nandas. In addition to these, he had by a woman of the servile class named Mura,

Chondrogupto, one of whose appellations is Maurya, which signifies the son of Mura. But whether or not he was the son of this low-born monarch is of no material importance to the present inquiry; the Indian writers agree respecting the meanness of his birth, and narrate with little difference the events which led to his exaltation. In the revolution headed by the Brahmon Kantilya, and supported by the troops of Parvateswar, a northern prince, who for his aid was promised the moiety of the kingdom, the Nandas fell; and Chondrogupto, whilst yet a youth, was placed on the throne. The crafty priest, now the prime minister, became anxious to evade the execution of the treaty he had made with Parvateswar, and this was effected by taking away that monarch's life. Malayaketa having formed a large army composed of the troops of his own and of neighbouring States, and containing among other corps Yavanas (supposed to be Greeks) marched against Mogodho to revenge the murder of his father; but jealousies and disputes arising among the confederates, the forces dispersed and returned to their respective countries without having accomplished the object of the expedition.

On the death of Alexander the Great, his empire was divided among his generals, and to Seleucus Nicator were assigned his territories in India. Seleucus contemplated an invasion of the kingdom of Mogodho; but, finding Sandracottus prepared to take the field, entered into a treaty with him by which he agreed to relinquish some possessions to the east of the Indus, to receive an annual supply of elephants, and to cement the bond of union by giving him one of his daughters in marriage. Such a matrimonial alliance may, at first sight, appear improbable; but Hindoos were not, perhaps, in that age as particular as in the present. However, allowing the strictness observed now obtained then, it could hardly affect Sandracottus, who was

a man of the meanest origin, and had, therefore, no reason to be much concerned about whom he married ; besides, the marriage was a matter of policy, securing the tranquillity of his kingdom and the friendship of a powerful foe ; and, supposing he had scruples, he would not be the only prince who has sacrificed religion to gain temporal advantages. Megasthenes, as the ambassador of Seleucus, proceeded to the camp of Sandracottus to conduct these negotiations, where he beheld as many as 400,000 people assembled. He also visited the capital of his kingdom, and calls it Palibothra, which, from the particulars he gives respecting it, is thought to be the city of Patna. He describes it as situated at the confluence of the Ganges and another river, which is believed to be the Soane, "whose ancient bed is yet traceable on the south of Patna, and seems to have led into the Ganges near Futwar."¹ Such alterations in the course of the rivers of India are not unusual. "The Cosa has changed its place of confluence with the Ganges, and is now forty-five miles higher up than it was. The Brohmapootro has varied its course still more."¹

If it be admitted that the near resemblance found in the Greek and Hindoo writers in the name, origin, private history, elevation, kingdom, and metropolis of an Indian prince establish the identity of Chondrogupto with Sandracottus, the era in which he lived is at once determined. The revolution in which he was raised to the throne occurred in 315 B.C., and his reign, which extended to his death, continued to the year 301.

Another name of much importance to the adjustment of Indian chronology, is that of the founder of Booddhism. This religion, which is now spread over Japan, China, Thibet, Burma, Cochin-China, Siam, and Ceylon, was, at a

¹ Rennell's "Memoir of the Map of Hindostan," p. 53.

remote period, the established faith of the Gangetic nations, and continued to be so, it is believed, down to the ninth or tenth century of the Christian era, when it was extirpated by the Brahmons. According to its sacred books, Booddho is superior to all the gods, but is not the author of creation ; the universe, and the several races of deities and of men, though they have undergone endless transformations, are supposed to have always existed, and to be destined always to endure. "The successive destructions and reproductions of the world resemble a great wheel, in which we can point out neither beginning nor end." Instead of being a pure spirit, unencumbered with a corporeal frame, he has a body, and sustains various relations in human life. Born the son of a king,¹ he becomes a husband, a father, an ascetic, and the most eminent of saints. At the age of sixteen he married the Princess Yasodara, who, thirteen years after their nuptials, brought forth a son, whom they named Rahula. On the day he became a father, abandoning all earthly relations and pursuits, he retired to a vast forest, where he continued six years in the uninterrupted practice of self-denial, meditation, and prayer. At the end of this period he became Booddho, bearing the name of Goutama, and commenced to publish the doctrines of a new religion, which, according to his own prophecy, will endure five thousand years. He inculcated a strict morality ; denounced the crimes of murder, adultery, stealing, lying, and drunkenness ; repudiated the institution of caste ; affirmed the equality of men ; and maintained brotherly love to be the chief of the virtues. Having conducted his ministry with great zeal and success for the space of forty-five years, he died in the eighty-first year of his age.

¹ He was born in Koopiloo, and was the son of Soodhodana, a monarch of the Sacya race of kings.

A Prince,	.	.	.	.	.	16 years.
A Husband,	.	.	.	.	.	13 „
An Ascetic,	.	.	.	.	.	6 „
Booddho,	.	.	.	.	.	45 „
						<hr/>
						80 „

The era of Goutama has been ascertained with considerable accuracy. The following dates are given by gentlemen who have carefully studied the chronology of the respective nations to which they refer, and enjoyed favourable opportunities of acquiring correct information.

The Burmese place his death in the year 546 B.C. ¹		
The Siamese	„	„ 544 B.C. ²
The Siamese	„	„ 540 B.C. ³
The Siamese	„	„ 543 B.C. ⁴
The Cingalese	„	„ 543 B.C. ⁵
The Cingalese	„	„ 542 B.C. ⁶

Taking 543, the average of these dates, and adding 45, the term of his ministry, will determine the period in which he became Booddho to be the 588th year before Christ.

According to the Bhagovot Poorano, the revolution which raised Pradyota to the throne of Mogodho happened exactly two years before Booddho made his appearance in that kingdom. Allowing the remotest date to his appearance there,—namely, the beginning of his ministry,—will place the commencement of Pradyota's reign 590 years before Christ.

¹ Dr. Francis Buchanan, "Asiatic Researches," vol. vi. p. 266.

² M. De la Loubere, "Relation du Royame de Siam," tom. ii. p. 160.

³ Paulinus quoted, "Asiatic Researches," vol. vi. p. 266.

⁴ Crawford's "Siam," cited by Turnour in his Introduction to the "Mahawanso," vol. i. p. 49.

⁵ Captain Forbes, "Asiatic Journal," vol. v. p. 328.

⁶ Mr. Harington, "Asiatic Researches," vol. vi. p. 266.

Respecting the reigns of the other families little certain knowledge is attainable, because the Pooranos, the only authorities on the subject, do not agree in the statements which they make.

Millions of ages have not been assigned to the Hindoo dynasties, because true history makes them less ancient. It must, however, be allowed that the antiquity of a people extends further back than the period of their authentic annals. A nation exists long and takes many steps in the way of improvement before the introduction of letters, and the writing of history is not the purpose to which they are first devoted. Tales perpetuated through successive generations, and to which all listen with unbroken attention, which abound with all that is amusing, exciting, wonderful, and marvellous, are the first compositions of a people emerging from barbarism, or yet in the early stages of civilisation. The real transactions of life, awakening no curiosity or interest, and gratifying no vanity, are deemed too insipid to deserve to be remembered, and centuries may glide away before a register of passing events is kept or appreciated ; hence a greater antiquity may be assigned to a nation than the date of its historical records, but how far back this antiquity extends can never be determined, for beyond the limits of history certainty is not to be attained, and all opinions based on the authority of tradition are entitled to little more credence than conjectures. There is, however, without travelling beyond the boundaries of Indian history, much within its range to interest an inquiring mind. Long-continued subjection to a foreign yoke, revolutions overturning dynasty after dynasty, and time, sweeping in its course peoples and kingdoms from the face of the earth, have had little effect on the Hindoos. The social, civil, and sacred polity that distinguished them under their own kings is observed at the present day. The vicissitudes of fortune

which have destroyed the characteristics of other nations they have survived more than two thousand years. The paganisms of ancient Britain, Greece, and Rome are no more, and the images of their gods, with the temples that contained them, have crumbled away and left behind them little more than the memory of their names; but the temples of the Hindoos are still standing, and myriads bow before their shrines. They retain a religion undoubtedly of great antiquity, but one that stifles the best sensibilities of our nature, and sanctions, by the example of its deities, every crime it is possible to commit; which has consigned multitudes of helpless babes to a watery grave, crushed thousands of deluded pilgrims to death beneath the wheels of ponderous cars, and cast innumerable widows into the devouring flames. That it may soon give place to the mild, pure, and ennobling doctrine of the Christian faith, must be the ardent wish of every humane and pious mind.

CHAPTER III.

APPEARANCE — DRESS — SACRED THREAD — JEWELS —
 UMBRELLAS — PRAYING - MACHINES — ROSARIES —
 VEDAS — POORANOS — PRAYING - BIRDS — NAMES —
 HOUSES — FOOD — COURTESY — VISITS — CEREMONI-
 OUS GIFTS.

IN physical conformation the Hindoos resemble the inhabitants of Britain, and, like them, are different from one another in stature, features, and expression. Their complexion is bronze, the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands being much whiter than the rest of the body. Their eyes are always black. Their hair, which is the same colour, is smooth and straight, so that in this there is not, nor indeed in any other respect, the least likeness to the negro race. Their cheeks and chin are clean-shaven, but not the upper lip; the moustache is quite common. A beard is an indication of mourning, or of the performance of a vow. When the head is shaven, which with Brahmons is often the case, a tuft of hair, usually tied in a knot, is always left on the crown; that remains till the period of death, and the performance of the funeral ceremonies. By the road-side, under a banyan, or other shady tree, on a small grass mat spread on the ground, the barber cuts the hair, the finger and toe-nails, cleans the ears, and shaves the face and arm-pits of the peasantry, who, while the operation proceeds, sit

on their hams before him. As soap is deemed impure, and the application of it in lather would incur the forfeiture of caste, water is used unmixed with anything else. The barber attends the gentry and well-conditioned persons at their homes. He, however, confines his labours to the males of the house, and leaves it to his wife to dress the hair, pare the nails, paint the feet, and do other services for the female members of the family.

The dhootee, a cloth about three yards in length and one in breadth, is wrapped round the loins; one end being passed between the legs is tucked in behind, the other, formed into several folds, hangs in front to the feet. The chador, of one and a-half or two breadths, is thrown over the left shoulder, and passed under the right arm, like a scarf or a plaid, which can be so arranged as to cover the whole body, and, as a protection from heat or cold, be drawn over the head. These garments are put on uncut, just as they come out of the loom—not buttoned, tied, or pinned; they are usually white, and made of cotton, and fine or coarse, according to the means and rank of the wearer. A woollen mantle is occasionally used in the winter months by well-conditioned folk, and a blanket by the peasantry. Persons who are extremely poor have no chador, and only a very small dhootee, hardly sufficient to answer the purpose for which it is intended. A few devotees—not, however, from poverty, but as an indication, it is believed, of their religious eminence—lay aside all clothing and go stark naked. Little children, though not always, usually go naked—those of the rich till they are two or three years old, and those of the poor till they are five or six. But a metal plate, generally made in the shape of a leaf, and suspended to a string round the waist, conceals the pudendum in girls; boys have hung over the same region small bells, or a trinket of gold or silver. These ornaments, in the belief of some parents, act

as safeguards, ward off the approaches of Satan, and prevent him from kidnapping the children. From the present national costume, which has been in fashion more than two thousand years, there are, it is true, deviations, and in some parts of India greater deviations than in others. Many Hindoos employed in mercantile houses, the courts of the Government, and the service of English families, and also a considerable number of private gentlemen who are in the habit of visiting Europeans, adopt Mohammedan articles of dress, such as the turban, the tunic,¹ the gown,² and the girdle.³ In the close-bodied Mohammedan garment, a slight change is made in cutting it out—it is made to open on the right instead of the left side of the chest. By this position of the opening of the vest you know at once, without asking any question on the subject, whether a man be a Hindoo or a Mohammedan.

The bulk of the people, both men and women, still go barefooted ; stockings formed no portion of their ancient costume, and as yet are rarely seen in the rural parts of the country, but among residents in towns the number of persons who wear them is gradually increasing. After bathing, and before worship, Brahmons sometimes wear a shoe made entirely of wood. There is a pin with a round knob fixed in the fore part of it, which, being held between the big and the next toe, enables them to keep it on and to move about quickly without inconvenience. The ordinary native shoe, though not always, is generally open at the heel, and has a long peak that curls inwards over the toes.

¹ The mirzai, a cotton or muslin jacket, with long loose sleeves and open cuffs, worn under the chopkon ; or the kufcha, which is like the mirzai, but has tight sleeves.

² The chopkon, a long gown, with flaps in the skirt, and sometimes slits in the armpits.

³ The komorbond, a long piece of cloth girt round the waist.

The material is usually leather, and it may be the dressed hide of the cow. The cow is deified and called the mother of the gods, yet she is a beast of burden, frequently beaten, sometimes starved, and at last has her skin turned into shoes to be worn by her worshippers. The opulent have shoes of thick rich stuff, embroidered with silver and golden thread. It is the custom to leave them at the door before entering a house, and in this way to show respect, as Europeans do by taking off their hats. During the administration¹ of Lord Dalhousie, some native gentlemen wished to discontinue the practice, to enter Government House, on court days, wearing shoes and also a turban. They were informed that homage must be paid to the Queen's representative by uncovering the feet or the head. This created much discussion among all classes, and was the subject of numerous letters published in the newspapers. Such was the excitement that a stranger might have been led to suppose that "the shoe question," as it was called, was in some way or other connected with the duration of British rule; but not the least danger to our rule really existed, for there was no disposition to withhold honour from the Queen's representative, but a difficulty in taking off shoes which were of English manufacture, tied or laced. Sir Frederick Halliday, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, on visiting the military station of Berhampore in the county of Moorshedabad, obviated the difficulty. He compromised the matter, allowed shoes to be worn, provided they were of japanned leather. The result was that every shoe of the kind which the bazaar contained was immediately purchased, and, when the levee was held, the tent was crowded. An order, founded on a similar compromise, was issued during the administration of Lord Lawrence. It was notified, under date the 31st of March, 1868, that "all

¹ His administration was from 1848 to 1856.

natives of India wearing boots or shoes of European fashion may appear thus habited before all the servants of Government in all places within the Bengal Presidency and its dependencies, on all official or semi-official occasions, including dorbars of all descriptions. In case of natives wearing shoes of Indian fashion, the old social practice, whereby such shoes must be taken off within the customary limits, will be maintained by the servants of the Government in their official or semi-official capacities." "A large number of native gentleman have recently presented a petition to the Government of Bengal, praying that they may not in future be obliged to keep their heads covered as a sign of respect when attending dorbars and other official meetings; Urging that the turban is not now, if it ever was, a part of the national dress of the people of Bengal, and that those native gentleman who do not ordinarily wear turbans should no more be obliged to show respect by keeping their heads covered, than by taking off their boots or shoes when made after the English pattern."¹

The Poita, the sacred cord, put over the head on to the left shoulder, and hanging under the right arm to the hip, is worn by every Brahmon; it consists of three separate cotton strings, each made of several threads. At the time of being invested with it, which may be in his eighth year, he is supposed to undergo a great change, analogous to a new birth, and in consequence is entitled to the honourable appellation of "dwijat," twice born. The other two privileged castes are allowed to use the cord. The military order are directed to wear a hempen and the mercantile a woollen one.² Physicians, who are reputed to

¹ The *Calcutta Englishman*, quoted by the *Allahabad Pioneer*, Saturday, 18th October, 1879, p. 15.

² Monoo, ii. 36, 37, 38, 44. The Kshotriyos and Boishyos, the military and mercantile castes, have very much declined in numbers; many who now claim to belong to them are of Shoodra origin.

have sprung from the intercourse of a man of the priestly with a woman of the commercial class, are permitted to wear the sacred thread of the caste to which their maternal ancestor belonged.¹

Some Hindoos wear necklaces, armlets, bracelets, and anklets, rings in their ears, on their fingers and toes, which, according to their means of purchasing them, are made of more or less valuable material. On days of ceremony, persons of great wealth have jewels on their turbans and round their necks strings of pearls.

The ordinary umbrella consists of slips of bamboo neatly plaited, and of a handle of the same wood, but having no stretches it does not admit of being closed; it is used to shade from the sun as well as from the rain, and costs about fourpence. A European lady, who spent many years in promoting the temporal and religious welfare of the women of India, and was much beloved, informed me, that soon after her arrival in the country, on seeing the natives, when it was neither hot nor wet, carrying their umbrellas open, and not being aware it was a matter of necessity, she pointed to it as an indication of laziness, and did it in that assured manner which is characteristic of new-comers. The friends with whom she was in conversation, smiling, corrected her mistake, at which she herself could not then help laughing. The very large umbrella carried over the principal people when they go out to walk, is made of palm leaf, of cotton or silk cloth, and has a broad fringe, and a handle measuring six or seven feet. In the cities and large towns the English umbrella is gradually taking the place of the native one, because it is found to be more convenient, and to be almost as cheap, considering the time it lasts. In the year 1882-83 as many as 3,353,055 English umbrellas were imported into India.

¹ The Boidyo caste : Monoo, x. 8, 14.

Religionists in the East, of nearly every creed, have material aids to facilitate the performance of duties of a spiritual nature. The Booddhists have praying-machines, in the form of barrels, which have handles like those of street-organs. Men are paid to put them in motion. Written on slips of paper and placed inside, the prayers are believed to ascend to heaven. The persons interested need not to be there; they can send their petitions and have them offered while doing their worldly business, ploughing their fields, reaping their crops, or taking the produce of their farms to market. The Booddhist monk has prayers engraven on cylinders, which by weights are set and kept in motion like a clock, and while they revolve he can attend to his studies or other avocations. Besides this machine he has one of a lighter construction, which is carried about in the hand, and in addition to these prayer-mills he possesses a rosary. Of the latter help in the exercises of devotion, Hindoos and Mohammedans alike avail themselves. With a rosary, formed generally of date-stones, and containing a hundred beads, the Mussulman counts the number of his prayers, his repetitions of the words of the Koran, and the titles and attributes of the deity. The Brahmon, who is a worshipper of Shivo, wears a rosary composed of thirty-two or sixty-four berries of the Roodrakhya tree;¹ that of the votaries of Vishnoo consists of one hundred and eight beads made of the root of the holy basil,² a shrub sacred to that divinity. The religious service of Hindoo priests, though not always, is often a mere repetition, audibly or otherwise, of the names of a favourite god; with their beads they enumerate their recitals of his appellations. These appellations are numerous; Vishnoo is said to have a thousand, and Shivo a thousand and eight. Sometimes the Brahmon has

¹ *Elæocarpus ganitrus*.

² Toolsee, the sacred basil, *ocimum sanctum*.

his rosary in a cloth bag,¹ into which he puts his right hand and carries on his manipulations unseen by those who may be near him. If he pronounce to himself both morning and evening the Gayotree, a stanza of the Rig Veda, he is sure to attain eternal bliss. "The four domestic sacraments² which are accompanied with the appointed sacrifice, are not equal, though all united, to a sixteenth part of the sacrifice performed by a repetition of the Gayotree. By the sole repetition of the Gayotree, a priest may indubitably attain beatitude, let him perform, or not perform, any other religious act."³ "By a continuous repetition of the Gayotree, at the twilights, the holy sages acquire length of days, perfect knowledge, reputation during life, fame after death, and celestial glory."⁴

The Vedas, the sacred books of the Hindoos, mentioned above, had a marvellous origin. The Supreme Ruler "milked them out, as it were, from fire, from air, and from the sun."⁵ They are written in the Sanskrit language, and were, it is supposed, arranged in their present form about fourteen hundred years before the Christian era, by Vyasa,⁶ a man of great learning. They are four in number—the Rig, the Yojur, the Samo, and the Atharva Veda. Each contains a collection⁷ of hymns, prayers, and invocations; precepts⁸ relating to the duties of a Brahmon, reciting the liturgical service, and presenting oblations and sacrifices in the temple; and to these

¹ Gomookho, rosary-bag.

² The five sacraments are the following: "Teaching and studying the scripture is the sacrament of the Veda; offering cakes and water, the sacrament of the manes; an oblation to fire, the sacrament of the deities; giving rice or other food to living creatures, the sacrament of spirits; receiving guests with honour, the sacrament of men."—Monoo, iii. 70.

³ Monoo, ii. 86, 87.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 94.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 23.

⁶ As many as twenty-eight persons, more or less famous, bear the name of Vyasa. The Vyasa who arranged the Vedas was the Mooni Krishno Dweepayono.

⁷ Sonita.

⁸ Brahmonos.

subjects are added expositions¹ on the divine attributes, on philosophy and metaphysics. Of the high estimation in which they are held, some idea may be formed from the language which is used in speaking of them. "To patriarchs, to deities, and to mankind, the scripture is an eye giving constant light. The three worlds, the four classes of men, and their four orders, with all that has been, all that is, and all that will be, are made known by the Veda."² The reading of the Vedas is confined now, as it always has been, to a few learned men. The bulk of the nation know as little concerning them as the bulk of the English people know about the writings of the school-men of the Middle Ages.

The Pooranos, ancient mythological books, are supposed to have been written at different periods, and the oldest of them about six hundred years after the Vedas. They number eighteen, and bear the following titles :—

1. Brohmo	Poorano.
2. Podmo	"
3. Vishnoo	"
4. Shivo ³	"
5. Bhagovot	"
6. Narod	"
7. Markondego	"
8. Ogni	"
9. Bhovishyo	"
10. Brohmo-voivortto	"
11. Lingo	"
12. Voraho	"
13. Skondo	"

¹ Uponishods.

² Monoo, xii. 94, 97.

³ In some lists of the Pooranos the name of Vayoo is given instead of Shivo's; but the list in which these writings are arranged and designated as above is the one generally received.

14. Bamon	Poorano.
15. Kurmo	„
16. Motsyo	„
17. Garoodo	„
18. Brohmando	„

They speak on a variety of subjects, on astrology, palmistry, and precious stones. The real existence of matter is maintained, and it is also pronounced to be illusory, and to exist only in the mind. The ordinary duties of the four classes of men, and the special ones of householders and Brahmons, are strictly enforced. Instruction is communicated regarding holidays and festivals, the performance of religious rites and ceremonies, and the obligation of making generous gifts to the priests who officiate in the temples. Tales, containing more or less of the marvellous, are told about the incarnations of Vishnoo, the churning of the ocean, ascetics, pilgrimages and sacred places, the deluge, Noah, and the seven Rishis or holy sages; also concerning the austerities and heroic deeds of some of the deities, and the contentions, quarrels, and immoralities of others. A minute description is given of the universe, of heaven, and of several of the twenty-one hells. Frequent creations, destructions, and renovations of the earth are affirmed to be events which have actually occurred, and that will transpire again. We are presented with an account of the genealogy of the gods and the patriarchs, of the reigns and histories of numerous dynasties and kings, and with computations of time which extend over millions of ages. Some Pooranos take the names of particular divinities, and in setting forth their merits advocate conflicting modes of worship and different ways of salvation, for between them there is no coherence or harmony.

Some of the legends in the Pooranos, and in the Rama-

yon and the Mohabharot epic poems, are compositions of great literary merit. Recitations of them, of three hours' duration, on ten successive days, in the afternoon or the evening, are often given in both towns and villages, and attended by men, women, and children in great numbers. Under an awning, or in a tent sufficiently large to meet the requirements of the locality, the audience sit on the matted or carpeted floor. There are neither chairs nor benches. The reciter occupies a raised seat. He speaks on the virtues and beauty of women, and the happiness of wedded life ; on the cruelty of oppressors, the sacredness of friendship, the nobleness of valour, the scenes of the field of battle, the trophies of victory, the lamentations of captives. Throwing his whole soul into the performance, he carries the auditors along with him. They are elated or depressed, moved to laughter or melted to tears. The recitations, especially those recounting the martial glories of Ram and the virtues of Seeta, his beloved wife, are everywhere attended by crowded assemblies, and probably will always continue to be thus attended ; for but seldom are the creations of genius allowed to die.

In their religious performances, Hindoos avail themselves of the help of the feathered tribe. At home, on the margin of rivers, and in the thoroughfares of both towns and villages, they may be often seen with a parrot or a mina, which they have taught to call upon some divinity. " Ram, Ram !¹ Radha-Krishno, Radha-Krishno !" ² are sounds which may be heard all day long, and sometimes far into the night.

¹ Ram is the seventh incarnation of Vishnoo, and the hero of the great epic poem, called the " Ramayon."

² Radha, who was the wife of Ayoon Ghosh, a cow-herd of Gokool, is the favourite mistress of the god Krishno. She was seduced by Krishno, and then deified. In the temples dedicated to his service, her image is set up with his own, and worshipped.

The ceremony of giving a name is deemed of much importance. It should be performed "on the tenth or twelfth day after the birth, or on some fortunate day of the moon, at a lucky hour, and under the influence of a star with good qualities. The first part of a Brahmon's compound name should indicate holiness; of a Kshotriyo's power; of a Boishyo's wealth; and of a Shoodra's contempt. Let the second part of the priest's name imply prosperity; of the soldier's preservation; of the merchant's nourishment; of the servant's humble attendance."¹

Having learned the exact time of the child's birth, the astrologer commences to cast his nativity, and on finishing the work informs the father that the heavenly bodies promise his son a prosperous, happy and long life, or doom him to a less favourable destiny; the amount of remuneration he is likely to receive for his labour throws, it is affirmed, light or darkness on the book of fate, and makes the reading of it prognosticate good or evil. Generally speaking, the poor have not horoscopes of their children, and some do not keep any record of their birth. The name chosen is never that of the father. It may be that of a hero, a tree, a flower; a word expressive of pleasure, greatness, goodness, or any excellent quality; it is frequently that of a god, and sometimes of a goddess, with an additional word to it. It does happen, though rarely, that it indicates something unpleasant. When this is the case, it may be thus accounted for. Parents who have suffered many bereavements believe the pleasant names their children bore attracted the notice of persons endowed with the baleful qualities of the evil eye, and caused their death; and to prevent such a bereavement occurring again, they select a name of an opposite character, expressive of worthlessness, of poverty, of loss, of affliction, or sorrow. If the child live and enjoy good health, a feel-

¹ Monoo, ii. 30, 31, 32.

ing of gratitude leads them to add to its name that of one of the gods.

The astronomical name, which may consist of one or more words, is the first; the family name is the last. The following short list may give the reader some idea of Hindoo names :—

Ram ¹ Mohan ² Ray.³
 Ram ¹ Prosad ⁴ Ray.³
 Anondo ⁵ Nath ⁶ Ray.³
 Bindrobon ⁷ Chondro ⁸ Ray.³
 Ishwor ⁹ Chondro ⁸ Bidyasagor.¹⁰
 Bhogaban.¹¹
 Kalee ¹² Choron.¹³
 Seetaram.¹⁴
 Gopal ¹⁵ Chondro ⁸ Singh.¹⁶
 Ram ¹ Dootal ¹⁷ Singh.¹⁶
 Ram ¹ Das ¹⁸ Singh.¹⁶
 Krishno ¹⁹ Chondro ⁸ Singh.¹⁶

¹ A deity.

² Great.

³ A prince, a title of honour. The most celebrated person of this name was a very learned man, and a great reformer. He visited England, and died at Stapleton Grove, near Bristol, in the year 1833.

⁴ Grace, favour, kindness.

⁵ Joy, felicity, pleasure.

⁶ Lord, governor, protector.

⁷ A place of Hindoo pilgrimage, situated on the western bank of the Jumna, thirty-five miles N.N.W. from the city of Agra.

⁸ The moon. ⁹ The common name of God; the supreme, a lord.

¹⁰ A sea of learning; *bidya*, knowledge, wisdom, learning; *sagor*, the sea, the ocean.

¹¹ Divine, glorious, omnipotent, God.

¹² A goddess, the consort of Shivo.

¹³ The foot.

¹⁴ The wife of Ram.

¹⁵ A cow-herd, a dairyman; one of the names of Krishno, an image of Krishno.

¹⁶ A lion.

¹⁷ Fondness.

¹⁸ A slave, a servant.

¹⁹ The god Krishno.

Ishwor⁹ Chondro⁸ Ghosh.³⁰

Ram¹ Gopal¹⁵ Ghosh.³⁰

Anondo⁵ Lal²¹ Das.¹⁸

Nondo²³ Nath⁶ Das.¹⁸

Kalee¹³ Das.¹⁸

Doorga²³ Choron.¹³

Gonga²⁴ Ram.¹

Ghoreeb.²⁵

Panch²⁶-kowri.²⁷

Harano.²⁸

Dookhee.²⁹

Dookhee²⁹-Ram.¹

The houses of the rich are built of brick, or stone in those parts of the country where stone is procurable. They stand on four sides of a court. If the front, which is probably the case, be to the south, it may consist merely of a high wall with a door in the centre, or of a stately porch with chambers over it. The northern part of the edifice contains the image of the deity the family worship. The eastern and western rooms on the ground-floor, and likewise all those of the upper storeys, open into a veranda, or gallery, which looks on the court. The roof being flat, serves as a walk to take the air in the morning and evening. This description does not apply to all mansions; some are erected on a different plan, and others, apparently, on no

³⁰ A branch of the writer caste, a herdsman.

²¹ Red.

²³ Pleasure, joy, happiness, felicity.

²³ The goddess Doorga, the consort of Shivo.

²⁴ A goddess, the Ganges, the sacred river of the Hindoos deified.

²⁵ Poor, needy.

²⁶ Five.

²⁷ A small shell used in India as money; sixty are in value a little more than a farthing. Here the compound word is intended to express the quality of being worthless.

²⁸ Lost.

²⁹ Sorrowful.

plan at all, and exhibit much variety in the fancies of the owners. The chief articles of furniture are clothes-chests, ottomans, punkhas,¹ bedsteads, and mats. There are no pictures, looking-glasses, sofas, tables, or chairs, nor any of those little elegancies deemed necessary to the comfort of an English home. Some native gentlemen, however, who are in the habit of calling on foreign residents, have a room or two, in which they receive visitors, fitted up in the European style. Most of the dwellings of the labouring class have mud or wattled walls, and roofs thatched with grass. Those occupied by very poor persons have only one room, the others have two or three. Occasionally in summer, owing to the great heat within doors, men and boys in considerable numbers sleep outside in the veranda, the yard, or street. As a protection from mosquitoes, their upper garment, which is white, is drawn over them so as to cover the whole body, the head and the feet; and consequently to a foreigner, walking through the village early in the morning, they appear like corpses shrouded for burial.

In the families of the poor, most of the domestic utensils are native earthenware, and altogether cost only a few pence. In the families of the opulent, the utensils, consisting of pots, pans, dishes, plates, cups, bowls, jugs, and jars, are of brass or zinc, and manufactured in the country; but the fine metallic, glass, and earthenwares imported from England are gradually coming into use.

The staple food in the province of Bengal is rice, eaten with herbs; split pease; vegetable, fish, cocoa-nut, and other kinds of curry. In Upper India and other parts of the country where rice is not extensively grown, unleavened

¹ A machine for fanning a room, consisting of a movable frame covered with canvas, and suspended from the ceiling. It is kept in motion by pulling a rope.

bread¹ is much used, made into large, round, thin, flat cakes. According to the rank and means of persons, the place of dressing food may be a brick or stone building a little distance from the dwelling, a shed near the door of the house, or a corner of the room in which the family live. When travelling, it is customary to cook in the open air; a small square piece of ground² is smoothed and swept, and out of the clay of the place is moulded a receptacle to contain fire, over which anything can be fried, stewed, baked, or boiled. They do not usually take it with them, but leave it behind, and make a fresh one at the end of every stage of their journey. They also leave the earthen vessels in which they have cooked their victuals. As these receptacles for fire and food, called "choolas and hanries," cannot, without loss of caste, be used by after-comers, they remain in their whole or broken state on the sides of the great thoroughfares and the banks of the rivers—the resting-places of travellers.

Just before eating, having anointed themselves with mustard oil, the Hindoos bathe with their loins covered, never naked. When they perform their ablutions at a well in a courtyard, or any other similar locality, they take a vessel and pour the water over their heads. When performed in a river or pool,—and there men and women usually bathe together,—they immerse the whole body several times, then unfasten the waist-cloth, wash it, and put it on again. Having finished their ablutions, they doff this cloth while standing on the bank, and don a dry one; but this is done in such a manner that, though surrounded with a crowd of people, no exposure of the person takes place, nor anything else of an indelicate nature. A few individuals do

¹ It is formed of wheat; of jowari—*sorghum vulgari*; bajra—*panicum specatum*; and other sorts of grain.

² Chouka.

not make this change, but go home just as they are, with the wet garment sticking to them, and the water dripping from it.

If after purification they unfortunately touch a person of lower caste than themselves, they become unclean ; and if scrupulous about religion, will, ere they sit down to eat, bathe again to wash away the pollution. Seated on their hams, on a mat spread on the ground, the food is set before them, on metallic, earthen, or plates formed of palm or plantain leaves, sewn together with a blade of grass ; and having no knives, forks, or spoons, they take it up with the fingers of the right hand, never with those of the left, as the left hand is reputed unclean, and used in the meanest offices. Ignorance of this supposed uncleanness has led to the making of blunders which have excited both anger and mirth, and caused men in power, who should be revered for their wisdom, to be laughed at for their folly. At one time, a commander in the Presidency of Madras, being determined to secure uniformity in every military detail, ordered native troops to salute with either hand, as the English do. The consequence was that, when a Hindoo soldier was about to meet an officer whom he liked, he managed to pass on the left side and salute with the right hand, as he did before the order was issued ; but, if for some reason or other he were displeased with an officer, he passed on the right side and saluted with the left hand, and thus actually insulted him while formally paying him respect.

The only drink at meals is water, which is generally taken in the usual way ; but sometimes it is poured into the throat, without allowing the vessel to touch the lips. It is customary to wash the hands after eating, and also before, should it so happen that a bath has not just been taken in which they, with the rest of the body, were purified. The law gives these particular directions : " Let the student,

having performed his ablution, always eat his food without distraction of mind ; and, having eaten, let him thrice wash his mouth completely, sprinkling with water the six hollow parts of his head,—that is, his eyes, ears, and nostrils.”¹

The time of meals is rather fixed by convenience than by the authority of sacred books. In rural districts, much work in the field and in the school being done in the morning, the breakfast is about noon ; in towns, where educational institutions, courts of law, mercantile offices, and all places of business open about ten o'clock, the meal is earlier than in the country. Dinner is generally after sunset, which in India is never so late or so early as in Britain, there being little variation in the length of the days. A slight repast, cold, and frequently consisting of what was left on the previous day, is taken by some persons between meals, or in the morning before leaving home. If the expense can be afforded, sweetmeats are taken after meals, composed chiefly of sugar, ground rice, and spices, formed into cakes or balls. Large quantities of sweetmeats are eaten at weddings and on all festive occasions, and likewise at the periodical religious ceremonies performed to honour the memory of the dead. Food which has been defiled is thrown away. Pollution may be occasioned by widely different causes. “The boar destroys it by his smell ; the cock, by the air of his wings ; the dog, by the cast of a look ; the man of the lowest class, by the touch.”² In the opinion of the strictly orthodox, even the shadow of a European, Mohammedan, or low caste Hindoo falling on a dinner, is sufficient to pollute it, and induce them to leave it untouched. There are, however, a few things exempted from the operation of rigorous laws, concerning which religion itself allows perfect freedom. All sorts of grain and fruit in their dry state can be touched by persons of different

¹ Monoo, ii. 53.

² *Ibid.* iii. 241.

castes without causing defilement ; gold, silver, and copper continue pure whoever may be their possessor ; hence the Brahmon does not refuse to take money from the Shoodra, but probably murmurs if he be sparing in his gifts.

The betel leaf, wrapped round powdered shell-lime, and the nut of the areca palm, is chewed after dinner, and likewise during visits paid to friends ; indeed, many persons are so much addicted to it as to have it almost continually in their mouths. It is thought to be conducive to health, and to be a powerful stimulant both to the salivary glands and the digestive organs. It stains the lips and the tongue a bright red colour.

Inhaling smoke from several substances the Hindoos have practised from time immemorial ; but their ancient books make no mention of tobacco, and the name given to it in their languages is apparently a corruption of a foreign word, from which it may be inferred that the plant is an exotic, and was probably introduced from America into India, as well as into Europe, about three hundred years ago. But whatever may have been the period of its introduction into the country, most of the inhabitants, swayed in their judgment by the strength of habit, now consider tobacco to be a necessary of life. All classes smoke after meals, during visits, at social public rejoicings—indeed, on every possible occasion. In village meetings for the transaction of ordinary business ; in assemblies summoned to try individuals accused of breaking the laws of caste ; while listening to tales, “*kaṭinees*,” in which, like other Eastern nations, they take as great delight as our children, they sit and smoke. Among field labourers, artisans, and men engaged in other manual occupations, it is the custom for one person to take a few whiffs and then pass the pipe to another, and to hardly ever cease doing so till the work is over. In the hooka used by the poor, the vessel containing

the water is a cocoa-nut, at the top of which is inserted one end of a reed tube, reaching into the water ; on the other end is placed a cup holding tobacco and live charcoal, and the mouth being applied to a hole in the side of the nut, the smoke is drawn out, cooled and purified by the water. In the hooka of persons who are comparatively well off, the water-vessel is glass, brass, or silver ; the upright tube is richly ornamented, and in the hole to which the peasantry put their mouth a flexible tube, resembling a garden hose, is inserted, which enables a person to smoke with the hooka at the other side of the room, to do it lying in bed with the hooka on the chamber floor, while on a journey with it near his feet in the palanquin, or carried by a servant running outside. Among men of the same caste the pipe can be passed from one to another till they have all used it ; but should there happen to be individuals present of a different caste, the pipe cannot be offered to them, as different castes are not permitted to draw smoke through the same water ; they may, however, be allowed to take the cup containing the tobacco and fire, and, putting their mouth to the bottom of it, draw the smoke through its tube. Presenting the hooka to visitors is a sign of welcome and goodwill ; withholding it is an indication that the bonds of friendship have been severed, civil and religious immunities forfeited, and expulsion from society incurred. In Bengal, and probably in other parts of India, many women belonging to the industrious classes smoke ; and though few in the upper ranks of life do it, yet some of them chew tobacco—the leaf mixed with the betel-pepper leaf. Both men and women, but not in great numbers, use pulverised tobacco in the form of snuff. Some Hindoos add to their tobacco a preparation made of the tops or flowering stalks of the hemp-plant,¹ which has a fragrant odour, and is highly intoxicating.

¹ Ganja—*cannabis sativa*.

Others, instead of this, mix with it a small quantity of opium. Opium is also taken in pills or dissolved in water. Here a question may naturally suggest itself—Are the Hindoos a sober people? Strong drinks of every description are shipped from Europe, but as yet their consumption is mostly confined to seaports and large inland towns. Those consumed in the rural districts are generally such as liquors distilled from fermented rice, from leaves,¹ flowers,² and bark³; from the sap of the wild-date tree,⁴ the palmyra,⁵ and cocoa-nut palms.⁶ However,—including all who take intoxicating liquors and drugs, whether in excess or in moderation,—they form only a very small portion of the people. The great body of Hindoos never take anything more inebriating than water, and for sobriety stand second to the inhabitants of no country on the face of the earth. How long they will retain this virtuous pre-eminence above Christian nations cannot with certainty be determined; for the vice of intoxication is said to be increasing, and this is somewhat confirmed by the growing statistics in the excise department of the Indian revenue.

It may perhaps be well to remark that, though smoking in India is not connected with drunkenness,—one of the very fruitful sources of crime in England,—it is a great impediment, if not to the moral, to the material welfare of the country. In all skilled and unskilled business the use of the ordinary hooka causes frequent interruptions of labour, for it cannot, like the pipe, be placed in the mouth, and

¹ The drink called Bhang, from the leaves of the hemp-plant—*cannabis sativa*.

² The flowers of the Mahwah tree—*bassia latifolia*.

³ The bark of the following trees : *acacia ferruginea*, *acacia leucophleea*, *acacia myriophylla*.

⁴ The Khajoor tree—*Phœnix sylvestris*.

⁵ The Tol tree—*borassus flabelliformis*.

⁶ The Narikel—*cocas nucifera*.

smoked without work being suspended ; one or both hands are occupied in holding it. The time consumed by each individual during the working hours of the day is estimated to be one hour. In some cases it is possible this may be too large an average, but in most cases those who know the country and the habits of the people will be of opinion the average is too small. If those who are employed in manual labour form a sixth of the inhabitants, which is not improbable, and among them the abstainers from the use of tobacco be too few to be taken into consideration in this rough calculation, the period wasted by smoking in each single day is 42,648,637 hours, or 4868 years, 206 days, and 13 hours. How this time-consuming habit, to call it by no worse name, increases the cost of work performed, and, consequently, the price of all articles offered for sale in shops and markets, will be too apparent to men of reflection to need the least argument to enforce it. Whether tobacco be necessary to any persons may be doubted ; that it is injurious to the health and constitution of many, in the East as well as in the West, is a matter of certainty.

The Hindoo is commanded to be considerate, kind, and courteous. The code framed for the regulation of his conduct says : "Let him not insult those who want a limb, or have a limb redundant, who are unlearned, who are advanced in age, who have no beauty, who have no wealth, or who are of an ignoble race."¹ "Way must be made for a man in a wheeled carriage, or above ninety years' old, or afflicted with disease, or carrying a burden ; for a woman, for a priest just returned from the mansion of his preceptor, for a prince, and for a bridegroom."² "Let him humbly greet venerable men, who visit him, and give them his own seat ; let him sit near them, closing the palms of his hands ; and when they depart, let him walk some way behind them."³ "A

¹ Monoo, iv. 141.² *Ibid.* ii. 138.³ *Ibid.* iv. 154.

youth who habitually greets and constantly reveres the aged, obtains an increase of four things—life, knowledge, fame, strength.”¹

Friends of equal rank who have not seen each other for some time usually embrace when they meet. When inferiors and superiors meet, and make inquiries about each other's welfare, the inferior usually addresses the superior in a complimentary style, saying, “Through your favour, I continue well;” “As you command, all is well.” Persons meeting on the road, who are of equal rank, do not always formally salute, but in passing say a friendly word or two, or repeat twice the name of the god Ram, the repetition of whose name is deemed equivalent to a prayer for his blessing. A Brahmon does not return a mark of respect in the ordinary way, but stretches out his right arm, and with the hand half open thus bestows his benediction on the person who makes obeisance to him. The principal forms of salutation are the following. The first and the second are common : A slight inclination of the body, and raising the right hand to the forehead.² Raising the hands, joined palm to palm, and touching the forehead several times with the two thumbs.³ Prostration, in which the forehead meets the ground.⁴ Bowing at the feet of a superior, so as to touch them with the head.⁵ Making five parts of the body—the forehead, temples, and hands—touch the ground.⁶ Making eight parts of the body—the knees, hands, temples, nose, and chin—touch the ground.⁷

To the visitor, who is of the same rank as themselves, the Hindoos bring water for washing his feet, and give him the

¹ Monoo, ii. 121.

² Pronam. This mode of salutation resembles the Mohammedan salam, but on that account it need not be considered of Mohammedan origin.

³ Nomoskar.

⁴ Donoobot.

⁵ Obhibadon.

⁶ Pouchango.

⁷ Oshango.

pipe to smoke, and after these indications of welcome, he sits down with the male members of the family to breakfast or dine. If, on account of being of another caste, he cannot eat with them, they furnish him with the requisite articles to prepare a meal for himself, such as rice, fish, dal,¹ clarified butter or oil, salt and red pepper, also with cooking vessels and fuel.

In paying visits, Hindoos consider it a breach of etiquette to leave before the master of the house gives permission. On ordinary occasions he does this by using a word² which signifies a dismissal with good wishes; literally, "Go without trouble or anxiety." On extraordinary occasions, the visit ends by his presenting them pan,³ putting round their neck a garland, dropping attar or other perfume on their handkerchief, and sprinkling rose-water over their person. In attending the *dorbars* of chiefs, kings, and princes, it is not customary to go empty-handed; every one takes a ceremonious gift, of more or less value according to his rank. This is received or merely touched with the right hand by the personage to whom it is presented. An equal or a greater gift is returned. Half-a-century ago the return gifts were often of a costly character, and they are occasionally so now. Speaking of Ronjeet Singh, the then sovereign of the Punjab, and of the presents to the members of the English mission bestowed with his own hand, the Honourable W. G. Osborne says: "Mine consisted of a string of pearls, a chelenk of diamonds, six pairs of shawls, and several pieces of gold embroidered silk, a pair of diamond armlets, a sword and a horse, with gold and velvet housings and accoutre-

¹ Split peas or other pulse.

² Such as "Biday."

³ A masticatory much used in India and also in other portions of the East. It consists of the nut of the areca palm, wrapped in a fresh leaf of the betel pepper vine, which has spread over it a small quantity of fine shell-lime.

ments."¹ Those to the other officers were in proportion to their rank. The men of the escort received twelve thousand rupees, and the servants the same amount. The ceremonious gifts presented by English officers at native courts are furnished by the Government, and as soon as possible those received are made over to the Government; not one is allowed to be retained, all are entered in the State-records, placed under the authorities of the Treasury, and ultimately advertised in the newspapers and sold by auction, which, it must be admitted, is not a very dignified procedure for one of the greatest nations in the world. It is true that were officials in India to appropriate these gifts, they might be considered as bribes to defeat the ends of justice, and secure a corrupt administration of the law; but surely a custom, which is a degradation to every one concerned in keeping it up, might be abolished. Seeing presents knocked down to the highest bidder, just as ordinary articles of merchandise are disposed of, must excite the displeasure of the persons who made them; and receiving presents, which are not to be retained, but are ticketed for sale as soon as the ceremony is over, must be pronounced to be little better than a farce.

¹ "Court and Camp of Ronjeet Singh," by W. G. Osborne, p. 203.

CHAPTER IV.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE HINDOOS ON RELIGION
AND MORALS.

IN their sacred books a marvellous account is given of the origin of the world. It is there related that "the sole self-existing power, Brohmo, whom the mind alone can perceive, whose essence eludes the external organs, who has no visible parts, who is the soul of all beings, with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed. The seed became an egg bright as gold, blazing like the luminary with a thousand beams ; and in that egg he was born himself, in the form of Brohma. By his thought alone, he caused the egg to divide itself ; and from its two divisions he framed the heaven above and the earth beneath ; in the midst he placed the subtile ether and the permanent receptacle of waters. He gave being to time and the divisions of time, to the stars, and to the planets, to rivers, oceans, and mountains, to level plains, and uneven valleys ; to devotion, speech, complacency, desire, and wrath. From His own supreme soul He drew forth mind, and, before mind, He produced consciousness, the internal monitor—the ruler."¹

"He made a total difference between right and wrong,"² placed man under the reign of law, and held him account-

¹ Monoo, i. 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14.

² *Ibid.* i. 26.

able for his actions. "Single is each man born, single he dies; single he receives the reward of his good, and single the punishment of his evil deeds. In his passage to the next world, neither his father, nor his mother, nor his wife, nor his son, nor his kinsmen, will remain in his company; his virtue alone will adhere to him."¹

The difference between knowledge and the performance of duty is clearly discerned. "They who read many books are more exalted than such as have seldom studied; they who retain what they have read, than forgetful readers; they who fully understand, than such as only remember; and they who perform their known duty, than such men as barely know it."² Virtue is commended, and vice denounced; and in giving judgment respecting the moral character of an action, and the reward or punishment it merits, the motives, feelings, and passions which influence human conduct are taken into account. "With whatever disposition of mind a man shall perform in this life, any act, religious or moral, in a future body endued with the same quality shall he receive retribution. A religious act, proceeding from selfish views in this world, as a sacrifice for rain, or in the next, as a pious oblation in the hope of a future reward, is declared to be concrete and interested; but an act performed with a knowledge of God, and without self-love, is called abstract and disinterested. He who frequently performs interested rites attains an equal station with the regents of the lower heaven; but he who frequently performs disinterested acts of religion, becomes for ever exempt from a body composed of the five elements."³ Between

¹ Monoo, iv. 239, 240.

² *Ibid.* xii. 103.

³ *Ibid.* xii. 81, 89, 90. In the opinion of the Hindoos the elements of material existence are five in number—viz., earth, water, air, ether, and light or energy. The word used to express them is *ponchobhoot*—*poncho*, five; and *bhoot*, element.

mental sins and those committed through the intervention of the bodily organs, a wide distinction is made in the punishments with which they are visited. "For sinful acts mostly corporeal, a man shall assume after death a vegetable or mineral form ; for such acts mostly verbal, the form of a bird or a beast ; for acts mostly mental, the lowest of human conditions."¹ The transitory nature of prosperous wickedness is set forth in language which bears a striking resemblance to that which the writers of the Christian Scriptures use when describing the course of the ungodly. "Iniquity, committed in this world, produces not fruit immediately, but, like the earth, in due season, and, advancing little by little, it eradicates the man who committed it. Yes ; iniquity, once committed, fails not of producing fruit to him who wrought it, if not in his own person, yet in his sons, or if not in his sons, yet in his grandsons. He grows rich for a while through unrighteousness ; then he beholds good things ; then it is that he vanquishes his foes ; but he perishes at length from his whole root upwards."²

The opinions of the Hindoos on the retributive justice which is experienced in this world are peculiar. In their ancient laws many punishments are appointed to overtake transgressors which find no place in the penal code of any other people. A few of them may be here mentioned. "Some evil-minded persons, for sins committed in this life, and some for actions in a preceding state, suffer a morbid change in their bodies. A stealer of gold from a Brahmon has whitlows on his nails ; a drinker of spirits, black teeth ; the slayer of a Brahmon, marasmus ; a malignant informer, fetid ulcers in his nostrils ; a false detractor, stinking breath ; a stealer of dressed grain, dyspepsia ; a stealer of clothes, leprosy ; a horse-stealer, lameness ; a delighter in hurting sentient creatures, perpetual illness ; an adulterer,

¹ Monoo, xii. 9.

² *Ibid.* iv. 172, 173, 174.

windy swellings in his limbs.”¹ The future punishments to be borne by men who indulge in forbidden pleasures are the following :—“Multifarious tortures await them : they shall be mangled by ravens and owls, shall swallow cakes boiling-hot, shall walk over inflamed sands, and shall feel the pangs of being baked like the vessels of a potter. They shall assume the forms of beasts continually miserable, and suffer alternate afflictions from extremities of cold and of heat, surrounded with terrors of various kinds : more than once shall they lie in different wombs ; and, after agonising births, be condemned to severe captivity, and to servile attendance on creatures like themselves. Then shall follow separations from kindred and friends, forced residence with the wicked, painful gains and ruinous losses of wealth, friendships hardly acquired and at length changed into enmities. Old age without resource, diseases attended with anguish, pangs of innumerable sorts, and, lastly, unconquerable death.”²

Such is the theory as to rewards and punishments ; but by making many exceptions to the rules prescribed, the law rather encourages than checks the commission of crime. About the taking of oaths, it says : “A witness who gives testimony with truth shall attain exalted seats of beatitude above, and the highest fame here below. By truth is justice advanced ; truth must, therefore, be spoken by witnesses of every class.”³ By a deviation from it the sacrifice becomes vain,⁴ and the fruit of every virtuous act is lost.”⁵ “The impious wretch that answers one question falsely shall, in utter darkness, tumble headlong into hell.”⁶ Yet it is affirmed that “to women at a time of dalliance, or on a

¹ Monoo, xi. 48, 49, 50, 51, 52. ² *Ibid.* xii. 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80.

³ *Ibid.* viii. 81, 83. ⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 237. ⁵ *Ibid.* viii. 90.

⁶ *Ibid.* viii. 94. There are twenty-one hells.—*Ibid.* iv. 87-90. They bear such names as the following, which indicate the punishment to be endured :—Lohasanku, iron-spiked ; Osipotrobono, the sword-leaved forest ; Lohangaraka, the pit of red-hot charcoal.

proposal of marriage, in the case of grass or fruit eaten by a cow, of wood taken for a sacrifice, or of a promise made for the preservation of a Brahmon, it is no deadly sin to take a light oath. In certain cases when the death of a man would be occasioned by true evidence, falsehood may be spoken; it is even better than truth. The giver of false evidence from a pious motive, even though he know the truth, shall not lose a seat in heaven: such evidence wise men call the speech of the gods. Such witnesses must offer, as oblations, cakes of rice and milk to Soroswoti, the goddess of speech, and thus will they fully expiate that venial sin of benevolent falsehood.”¹

For the cutpurse, on his third conviction, for housebreaking during the night, and purloining from temples, the punishment decreed is death;² still, by living on a spare diet, fasting a few days, or swallowing pills composed of the five products of the cow,³ sacrilegious persons, robbers, and pickpockets atone for their guilt,⁴ and being thus absolved are tempted to enter again on their evil courses. The same kind of penances are prescribed for the illegal seizure of wells, pools, grain, grass, wood, trees, houses, and fields; stealing cotton, silk and woollen cloth, iron, copper, brass, silver, corals, gems, and pearls.⁵ Murderers are condemned to die,⁶ but austere devotion revokes the sentence of death. For “whatever sin has been conceived in the hearts of men, uttered in their speech, or committed in their bodily acts, they speedily burn it all away by devotion.”⁷ Even when unaccompanied by other religious duties, alms-giving, which means not relieving the poor and

¹ Monoo, viii. 103, 104, 105, 112.

² *Ibid.* ix. 276, 277, 280.

³ The five products of the cow are milk, curds, butter, urine, and dung.

⁴ Monoo, xi. 166, 167, 168, 169, 170.

⁵ *Ibid.* xi. 164-169.

⁶ *Ibid.* ix. 232.

⁷ *Ibid.* xi. 242.

the wretched, the widow and the orphan, but making presents to Brahmons, releases the sinner from all his guilt.¹ Not a less efficacious atonement is sacred knowledge. "A priest, who should retain in his memory the whole Rig Veda, would be absolved from guilt, even had he slain the inhabitants of the three worlds, and eaten food from the foulest hands."² One good action destroys many bad actions, and the guilt of many sins is neutralised by the influence of one virtue. Graphic pictures are drawn of hell, little less awful than those we find in Dante's "Inferno," but the damned are not deprived of hope. Retaining a capacity for religious services and one holy act being sufficient to efface their guilt, deliverance from suffering is an object always within their reach; therefore, the fear of future punishment exercises only a feeble influence in deterring the wicked from sin. Another part of Hindoo theology takes from a virtuous life one of its great encouragements. The happiness of heaven, after being enjoyed for a longer or shorter period, may come to an end, the soul may be sent back to begin its earthly career afresh, enter a material form and pass through a cycle of transmigrations, being exalted or degraded in rank according to the line of conduct it pursues.

Disinterested benevolence is applauded but hardly expected from men; they are therefore stimulated to be munificent by promises of reward. "A giver of water obtains content; a giver of a lamp, unblemished eyesight; a giver of land, landed property; a giver of gems or gold, long life; a giver of a house, the most exalted mansion; a giver of silver, exquisite beauty; a giver of a carriage or a bed, an excellent consort; a giver of safety, supreme dominion; a giver of scriptural knowledge, union with God."³ Self-love is recognised as the motive of all actions. "Eager desire to

¹ Monoo, xi. 228.

² *Ibid.* xi. 262.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 229, 230, 232.

act has its root in expectation of some advantage, and with such expectation are sacrifices performed; the rules of religious austerity and abstinence from sins are all known to arise from hope of remuneration. Not a single act here below appears ever to be done by a man free from self-love; whatever he performs, it is wrought from his desire of reward."¹

Man is represented as a free, responsible agent, who will be summoned to give an account of his actions,² and the presence or absence in his conduct of moral worth may, it is admitted, affect his state, even in this life,—vice sink him to a lower caste, and virtue raise him to a higher. "A twice-born man, who not having studied the Veda, applies diligent attention to a different and worldly study, soon falls, even when living, to the condition of a Shoodra; and his descendants after him."³ "By virtues with humble behaviour, Viswamitro, the son of Gadhi, acquired the rank of a priest, though born in the military class."⁴ But in striking opposition to this it is said that, when a man is born, it is then determined what shall be the nature of his conduct in this world, and what shall be his state in the next, and not any change can ever be wrought. The Supreme Lord "assigned to all creatures distinct names, distinct acts, and distinct occupations. Whatever quality, noxious or innocent, harsh or mild, just or unjust, false or true, he conferred on any being at its creation, the same quality enters it of course on its future births."⁵ The Divine Spirit pervading all beings, causes them to revolve like the wheels of a car.⁶ The doctrine of fate exercises a powerful influence in palliating crime. Many, while acknowledging sin to be an evil, declare themselves irresponsible for its commission. Our destiny, they say, is

¹ Monoo, ii. 3, 4.

² *Ibid.* ii. 168.

³ *Ibid.* i. 21, 29.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 238, 239, 240, 242.

⁵ *Ibid.* vii. 42.

⁶ *Ibid.* xii. 124.

written on our brow, and what is there inscribed must come to pass ; irresistible power propels us to do both good and evil. We are in the hands of the Almighty as musical instruments ; He plays upon us whatever tune he likes, and as He plays we act, and are therefore no more accountable for our deeds than an instrument is for the sounds the musician makes it produce. Hence some Europeans declare "there is an utter absence of conscience among the people," and "creating one is affirmed by others to be the preliminary part of the work of missions." The writers of these statements do not intend their words to be taken in a figurative but in a literal sense, and they are men not hostile or indifferent to the evangelization of the country, but ministers distinguished for learning, piety and devotedness, and to whom India is greatly indebted. It must be admitted that fatalism, caste, the pernicious examples of the gods, and a thousand other abominations, have done much to weaken and prevent conscience ; still it is not quite dead, for in their better moments, when the fit of controversy is not on them, the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, philosophers and peasants, bear the same testimony,—all tell us that, though enfeebled, this monitor still speaks within them, approving virtue and condemning vice ; and when pointed to the account which St. Paul gives of the state of the heathen of his own day, "of the law written in their hearts,"¹ they acknowledge it to be a correct description of themselves, affording another proof of the Christian Scriptures and the religion they propound being applicable to all the nations of the earth.

Very erroneous opinions may be formed of the people of India, if founded on dogmas contained in Vedic or Pooranic theology. An accurate knowledge of the character of men cannot always be obtained from the doctrines inculcated in

¹ Rom. ii. 15.

their sacred books, because their creed and practice may be at variance. This possibility is ever taken into account in the prudent management of the ordinary affairs of life. In no part of Christendom does the merchant conduct his business on the supposition that all his customers will act according to the Decalogue, and be sure to pay him for his goods ; he takes reasonable security for their honesty, because those who strive to conform to the Scriptural standard of excellence are too few in number to render such precaution unnecessary. The test of character is conduct, and this test we always use when sitting in judgment on our countrymen ; we never suppose that a knowledge of virtue secures the practice of it, that the possession of a correct creed and a familiar acquaintance with the Ten Commandments are incompatible with a criminal life and residence in a jail. When sitting in judgment on pagan nations, we reason differently ; not conduct, but sacred books are used as the test of character. It is taken for granted that whatever these books contain is clearly understood, cordially believed, and implicitly obeyed ; yet nothing could be more erroneous than such conclusion. The conduct of the natives of India, like that of the inhabitants of Great Britain, is not always in agreement with their faith. The best persons in England are not as good as their religion. The worst persons in Hindostan may be better, but can hardly be worse than their religion ; for whatever gross crimes they may have committed they can point to exemplifications of them in the conduct of the gods. Though somewhat modified by circumstances and the benumbing influence of superstition, human nature in its great characteristics is the same in the East as in the West,—unregenerate men are everywhere in the same condition, “dead in trespasses and sins,”¹ and are quickened into spiritual life by the same Divine agency.

¹ Ephesians ii. 1.

CHAPTER V.

THE TENURE OF LAND AND THE CONDITION OF
THE PEASANT-FARMERS.

PRIOR to the constitution of States, occupancy appears to have been the foundation of property in land. When dwelling in the wilds of nature, subsisting by the chase, men claimed all game in a particular tract, the boundaries of which they themselves defined ; but emigration was a tacit renouncement of ownership ; consequently, other hunters might come to the forsaken region, and make it the place of their abode. Nomadic tribes had a right to the pastures in which they grazed their flocks and herds, and absence did not affect their claim till it became so long as to make it sure they proposed not to return. The husbandman acquired a right to all the land in the wilderness and forest which he cleared and brought under cultivation ;¹ but if he afterwards permitted it to lie fallow, and gradually return to its former sterile condition, his right, which was founded on his labour, with the effects of that labour, passed away.

While the uncleared portions of the earth were almost boundless, no inconvenience or wrong could arise from a title to land founded on occupancy or labour ; but with the progress of civilization, land, yielding the sustenance of life,

¹ Monoo, ix. 44.

rose in value; and as one citizen had as much right as another to unreclaimed wastes, and every individual could not devote himself to agricultural pursuits, men appear to have come in nearly every country to the same conclusion, and made the State the proprietor of the soil. Most of the monarchs in Europe, in early times, were proprietors of it. This is apparent from the fact that rent was the principal source of their wealth. If they allowed their vassals the usufruct of estates, it was on certain conditions, the chief of which were doing them homage in their courts and going with them to the wars; failing to render the stipulated service, the privilege was revoked, the fiefs were resumed. The United States of America lay claim to the land, and the proceeds from the sale of it form a considerable part of their revenue. The same right is claimed and exercised in all our colonial possessions. The settlers purchase from the local Government the lands which they propose to occupy.

According to the ancient laws of the Hindoos, the sovereign was considered the owner of the soil. He received a certain portion of the produce, and might punish the tenant whose crops failed through remissness. "If the land," it is said, "be injured by the fault of the farmer himself, as if he fail to sow it in due time, he shall be fined ten times as much as the king's share of the crop that might otherwise have been raised; but only five times as much if it were the fault of his servants without his knowledge."¹ In the following passage, his right is distinctly asserted:—"Of old hoards, and precious minerals in the earth, the king is entitled to half, by reason of his general protection, and because he is the lord paramount of the soil."² That he was the proprietor of the land, and exercised over it unlimited power, is proved by ancient inscriptions, in which

¹ Institutes of Monoo, viii. 243.

² *Ibid.* viii. 89.

royal grants are made as rewards to individuals. In these inscriptions it is recorded that the minerals below the surface, the herbage, wood, and water above it, rents and tolls, with fines inflicted for breaches of the law, the earth, and the sky, are given to the grantee and his heirs as long as the sun and the moon shall endure.¹

The portion of the crops which the king received was a twelfth, an eighth, a sixth, or, at most, a fourth;² but, though limited to this amount at first, it subsequently became larger.

At the time of harvest, the Government surveyors proceeded to the fields, and in the presence of the farmers computed the quantity of the produce. In their calculations they were aided, as well as checked, by a reference to the crops of former years, a record of which was kept by the village accountant. The share of the crown being thus ascertained, was received in kind or in money. Every village was a corporate body, and conducted its internal affairs according to long-established customs, which had the force of laws. Whether its dimensions comprehended hundreds or thousands of acres of arable and waste land, the boundaries were accurately defined. Generally speaking, the cultivation was not in common; each family had its separate portion of arable land, which it might have cleared and tilled, inherited or purchased; but in whatever manner obtained, only the use of the soil was acquired,

¹ In support of the statements made in the text, the reader is referred to a grant dated twenty-three years before the Christian era, engraven on copper, and found among the ruins at Monghyr, of which an interesting account is given in the "Asiatic Researches," vol. i. pp. 126, 127; and to another inscription on a metal plate found buried in the earth at Tanna, and dated one thousand and eighteen years before Christ, all the particulars of which are recorded in the "Asiatic Researches," vol. i. pp. 363-365.

² Institutes of Monoo, vii.130; and x. 118, 119.

and this in no way affected the proprietary right of the crown. For all arable land rent was paid to the State; but the village common was exempt, and there every farmer was allowed to graze his cattle. In times in which everything appeared to threaten their annihilation, these rural communities sustained little serious injury. When monarchs were dethroned, they lived through the period of anarchy, managing their concerns in the usual way till another Government was established, to which they paid allegiance and revenue. The calamities and revolutions which the country experienced—the breaking up of old dynasties, and the creation of new ones—wrought in them no radical change. The head-man of the village was appointed by the sovereign, but in the course of time the office became hereditary. On the death of the father, the eldest son succeeded him, on obtaining the formal recognition of the crown; and as the custom of applying to the Government for its sanction gradually dropped out of use, its acquiescence in the act was taken for granted. Hence the office seldom passed from one family to another, unless the transfer was imperatively called for by extraordinary circumstances. The head-man was authorised to collect the rent, and remit it to the public treasury. For the whole amount he was responsible to the Government; but when there happened to be a deficit, it was met by every farmer paying his proportion of it, which was estimated by the value of his holding. The defaulting parties had to liquidate their arrears in a reasonable time or forfeit their land. He was likewise required to superintend the police, settle disputes, and award punishments for small offences. In all important cases he was aided by a court composed of five members, who were chosen for their experience and probity.¹ From its decisions

¹ It does not appear to have been a permanent court, but one that was convened when found to be necessary. Its designation was

appeals might be made to the magistrates and judges ; but they were of rare occurrence.

Each rural community had power to levy taxes, or set apart particular fields and devote the proceeds from the sale of the crops to the following objects,—the repairs of temples, the daily performance of religious ceremonies, the offering of sacrifices, and the celebration of festivals ; keeping in good condition pools and water-courses used for agricultural purposes ; the maintenance of priests, schoolmasters, carpenters, smiths, washermen, barbers, constables, watchmen, and other persons whose services were occasionally necessary, such as doctors, midwives, musicians, and dancing-girls.¹ In some districts the musician, instead of being directly recompensed by the community, paid a small tax for the privilege of exercising his art ; it was stipulated in his contract that no other person should be engaged, and that his sole remuneration should be the gratuities of the individuals and families that called for his services.

While the assessment was punctually paid, the cultivators were not, except under very extraordinary circumstances, deprived of their lands, and, after being in possession many years, it became customary to regard them as hereditary tenants. Though the law never pronounced them such, the assumption of the title was tacitly allowed, because it did not injure, but rather benefited the State by securing the constant occupancy of the land, and the prompt realization of the revenue. Hence arose the supposed power to let, sell, mortgage, or will away their farms. As the exercise

“Ponchayet,” which means an assembly of five persons invested with judicial powers. In settling disputes which arise among the people, it is much used in the present day ; and, whatever may be the number of its members, it is still called by its ancient name.

¹ Hindoos of respectability never dance, because taking a personal part in the amusement would be considered degrading. At their rejoicings they hire professional women to dance before them.

of this power did not affect the interests of the crown, it was not made the subject of inquiry, and after being long permitted, custom gave it something of the force of law, when to have interfered with it would have been an unwise and perhaps a dangerous policy. From this an inference has been drawn that the ryots—the peasant-farmers—possessed a proprietary right to the soil; but in these transactions, what was let, sold, mortgaged, or bequeathed? Was it the land itself or only the usufruct of it? Doubtless the latter only, for no exemption from the payment of rent was obtained, and consequently no property in the land acquired; the new tenant occupied the same position as his predecessor, and was under the same pecuniary obligations to the crown. If, for religious, civil, military, or other services which the holder of a farm rendered, these obligations were annulled, it was an act of grace on the part of the sovereign, and the farm was thenceforward designated in the Government records, “*lakhraj*,” a name which rent-free lands have borne from the most remote age to the present times.

The Mohammedans, like their predecessors, claimed the proprietary right to the soil, and, after making some changes in the executive department, adopted the system of revenue which they found established. Instead of seizing the farms of the vanquished, it was their general policy to leave them in undisturbed possession. The sovereign's portion of the produce, which was ordered to be paid in money, was fixed according to the fertility of the different lands, and the value of the crops grown, and may have averaged one-fourth. Akbar raised it to one-third; but, as he abolished many indirect taxes, the farmers actually paid less to the State than in preceding reigns. In each province the Emperor appointed a receiver-general, who was next in rank to the viceroy. It was his duty to realize and disburse the

revenue, issue pay to the army and the respective branches of the civil service, check every unnecessary expense, audit all accounts, and transmit them to the chief financial minister at the imperial treasury. In addition to the demands of the crown, he had power to levy on husbandmen, in proportion to their rent, imposts for the maintenance of priests, mosques, caravansaries, highways, and bridges. His subordinates were responsible to him for the taxes of the districts committed to their charge. Each of these had officers under him who, according to the written instructions he gave them, were authorised for one year or a longer period to collect the ground-rent of a district, city, town, village, or single estate, receiving in the shape of remuneration a certain amount on the sum realized, which is supposed to have been 10 per cent. When the stipulated time elapsed, these instructions became legally void, but he might modify or renew them as the interests of the State rendered expedient. This discretionary power was not always purely exercised. Though not actually sold by auction, the places of collectors were sometimes given to the highest bidders, who recovered the price which they paid for them by levying illegal cesses. To remedy this evil, a register of rents was ordered to be kept open in every district for the inspection of the people, that they might distinguish the demands of the crown from fraudulent charges. In some places this well-intentioned order was productive of salutary effects, but in others it was a dead letter, and rather injured than improved the condition of the farmers, because the local officers of the Government now required a larger sum for their connivance at the evasions of the law, and for this the collectors reimbursed themselves by making increased exactions.

In proof of the proprietary right of the sovereign, we may adduce the fact of estates being assigned for payment of

debts which, when the sum was realized by the receipt of the rents, reverted to the crown; to estates given for a limited time, or in perpetuity, to reward the services of generals and cabinet ministers. Rival princes, contending for power, were lavish in their donations of land: the family of Baber alienated in this way, it has been estimated, a third part of the empire.¹ To this prodigal waste of the pecuniary resources of the realm there was, however, a check; but it was founded on injustice and exercised with violence. In times of anarchy the man who with his sword cut his way to the throne not unfrequently coveted the largesses given by his predecessor, and forcibly resumed them. Evidence, equally conclusive, of the proprietary right of the crown, is afforded by grants to less exalted characters than great captains and sage counsellors; to devotees and courtesans, the favourites of sovereigns addicted to superstition or pleasure. "One of the most beautiful and flourishing villages I ever saw," says Mr. Forbes, "had, with its surrounding district, been given to a set of dancing-girls; another, of similar population and fertility, belonged to a tribe of Gosains, or Hindoo mendicants."²

The British by degrees crushed the Mogul power, and as conquerors became owners of the soil. In dispossessing farmers who fail to pay their rent, in remitting, diminishing, and increasing the assessment, making it periodical or permanent, and in granting estates as rewards to individuals, they exercise the proprietary right as Hindoo and Mohammedan sovereigns did before them. The imperial firman which made over to the English in perpetuity the *révenues* of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa,³ was issued on the 12th of

¹ Dow's "Hindustan," vol. iii. p. 28.

² "Oriental Memoirs," by James Forbes, vol. ii. p. 47.

³ Only a small portion of Orissa was ceded, little more than what forms the district of Midnapore; the rest of the province, including

August, 1765, eight years after the battle of Plassy. Over these provinces the emperor had held the sceptre with a feeble hand ; during a long period the viceroys paid him allegiance only of a nominal character, occasionally set his authority at defiance, and fought for the sovereignty of the territories they were deputed to govern. In this unsettled state of things, agriculture, trade, and commerce declined. To accelerate the return of prosperity, wisdom dictated the adoption of a liberal policy ; but, from ignorance of the real condition of the country, the policy pursued was of a stringent nature, and the Mohammedan collectors who were continued in office made it almost intolerable, for they enforced not only the payment of rent, but many illegal charges. In 1771, the year following a grievous famine, which swept away one-third of the inhabitants, and left the survivors in a state of distress bordering on desperation, the committee in charge of the revenue fixed the assessment at a higher rate than had been paid in any former period, raising it more than a hundred thousand pounds.¹ As the farmers became less able to pay the increased rent, more oppressive measures were taken to realize it. Reduced to the last extremity, not a few, in utter despair, fled from the

Cuttack and the hilly country to the north and west of it, was then under the dominion of the Mahrattas, who had wrested it from the Mohammedans in war. Part of this extensive region the English took from the Mahrattas in the war which was waged against them in 1803, and the remainder of it in the war of 1817.

¹ Net revenue for the Bengali year 1777 (1770

of the Christian era),	Rs. 1,55,52,472	5	9
Net revenue for the year 1778,	1,66,38,147	12	14
	<hr/>		
Increase for 1778,	10,85,675	7	5

Balance of rent not realised when the in-

creased assessment was made, Rs. 18,31,861

See Letter from the Council of Revenue, 7th October, 1771.

Company's possessions into the territories of independent princes; many of those who still clung to their homesteads, notwithstanding the sufferings they endured, were obliged to dispose of their cattle to meet the pressing demands of the revenue officers; and with no oxen to plough, a large portion of their land lay waste, while the little they did use was dug with the spade, which, from its great expense, proved an unremunerative mode of cultivation. At last the collectors found it impossible to realize the assessment, and were consequently unable to fulfil their contracts. To draw the money out of the defaulters, they were subjected to indignities of the most humiliating character, and to punishments of great severity. Prevented from eating or drinking till they settled their accounts, bastinadoed, imprisoned, starved, and scourged; or, having a rope tied under the arms, dragged through a pond filled with all uncleanness, which, in contempt of their religion, was called Baikunth, the Hindoo paradise. The fraud and oppression which took place in collecting the revenue threatened to make one of the most fertile provinces in the world a desert. The Directors continued to regard the resources of the country as inexhaustible, and every augmented remittance they received, as they were ignorant of the manner in which it was raised, served to strengthen the delusion. At last the time came when their dreams of unlimited wealth gave place to stern realities. Mail after mail brought them despatches which spoke of the utter ruin of the farmers, of the complete disorganization of society, of unpaid rent to the amount of a million of pounds sterling, and of enormous debts contracted to ward off impending bankruptcy. On the receipt of this intelligence, the Directors immediately forwarded instructions for remedial measures to be at once taken; ordered the treasury to be removed from the city of Moorshedabad to Calcutta; the native receivers-general to

be dispensed with, and their duties to be performed by the European officers of the Company : recommended a supervising committee, consisting of four members, to travel through the rural districts, and after personal intercourse with the people, to fix the rent which they should pay for their holdings, regulating the amount according to the nature of the soil and the value of the crops grown. The period of the leases was to be five years. Had these measures been carried out, in a short time the farmers would have been in a prosperous state; but the supervisors, instead of making reasonable reductions where the rents were oppressive, which was the object for which they were appointed, let the land by auction to the highest bidder, whether he were the holder or a stranger. By these proceedings the condition of the farmers was not ameliorated, but made worse.

Very few of the contractors had been able to pay the price which they had offered for the estates they had taken, so that, in April, 1777, when the leases expired, the balances, of which the greater part was deemed irrecoverable, amounted to £1,292,691, although £1,187,957, 12s. of rent had previously been remitted.

About the mode of letting the land, the rent to be paid for it, and the period for which leases should be granted, there now arose, among the authorities in India, widely different opinions, and in the Council Chamber the subjects were discussed with much warmth, especially by Hastings¹ and Francis.² These discussions were terminated by the arrival of a despatch from England, in which the average of the collections of three years was fixed as the basis of a settlement, which was annually renewed till 1781, when the provincial councils were superseded by a committee of

¹ The Governor-General.

² The reputed author of the "Letters of Junius."

revenue formed in Calcutta of five covenanted servants.¹ This committee managed the whole financial affairs of the country, determined by a majority of votes all questions on which a difference of opinion arose, and submitted to the Supreme Council a monthly report of its proceedings. The gentlemen who composed it, in estimating the capabilities of different kinds of land to pay revenue, neither went on a tour of inspection through the rural districts themselves, nor employed other persons to make necessary inquiries; but took the rent accounts of preceding years as the basis of their calculations, although it was well known that in many cases the former rates were oppressively high, and caused vast tracts to be thrown out of cultivation. To fix the rent at a rate, just both to the Government and the people, they needed not only comprehensive knowledge, firmness, and great probity, but it was absolutely necessary to keep in perfect abeyance everything of a self-interested character; yet a powerful pecuniary incentive was set before them, which, though not with the design of biasing their judgment, had certainly that effect. As a stimulus to labour, the members of the committee and their principal assistants were allowed a percentage on the amount of revenue realized—two per cent. on the sums paid into the Calcutta treasury, and one per cent. on those paid into the county treasuries. As their promotion in the service depended on the pleasure of the Government, and as in gaining its approbation, by increasing the revenue, they enriched themselves, the farmers were sacrificed to a spirit of ambition and cupidity. The Directors expressed their disapprobation of the conduct of their revenue officers, and ordered a lighter assessment to be made for a period of ten years, which was announced to the public in 1789; and after three years' experience of the manner in which it

¹ Grant's "Sketch of the East India Company," p. 351.

affected the country, it was declared on the 22nd of March, 1793, to be permanent. The settlement comprehended the provinces of Bengal and Behar, and part of Orissa. The persons who had hitherto been employed year by year, in the capacity of collectors, receiving in the shape of remuneration ten per cent. on the revenue realized, and who had no claim whatever to the land, became perpetual farmers of the rents of the estates assigned them. This, however, did not in any way affect the proprietary right of the crown, for the settlement did not transfer the land itself to individuals—it only determined what rent individuals were to pay for the usufruct of it, and made the lease perpetual; and that nothing more was contemplated is apparent from the following fact, of which every one acquainted with rural affairs in India must be cognisant. On tenants falling into arrears, the usufruct of the land lapses to the Government, and is re-let to others on the same or dissimilar conditions as circumstances may dictate; that in all such cases the use of the land is justly forfeited has never once been questioned; and what stronger proof could be advanced to establish the right of the sovereign to the soil?

The subject of the settlement had been long under consideration, and the covenanted servants of the Company had been requested to communicate to the Supreme Council all information relating to it which they could obtain in the respective districts in which they were located; much of what they forwarded was, however, derived from their native subordinates, many of whom had an interested motive in keeping them in the dark; hence it formed a very unsuitable basis for so important an act of legislation. Still, with the ancient rent-rolls in the possession of the State, it was the only one which could then be procured; it therefore naturally followed that some lands were over-rated, and others

under-rated. That the data on which the assessment was formed were very erroneous, will appear from the great inequality in the price at which the usufruct of estates was sold in 1810. In some districts the price was enormous, and in others a mere trifle.

In Sarum	it was 331 years' purchase.			} Average price —94 years' purchase. ¹
„ Rungpore	„	245	„ „	
„ Tirhoot	„	185	„ „	
„ Chittagong	„	93	„ „	
„ Burdwan	„	46	„ „	
„ Shahabad	„	21	„ „	
„ Tipperah	„	11	„ „	
„ Dacca	„	8	„ „	
„ Nuddea	„	4	„ „	
„ Moorshedabad	„	1	„ „	

The estates which were found to be profitable were retained, but those which were over-rated were allowed, by omitting to pay the rent, to lapse to the Government, to get rid of the pecuniary loss which keeping them would have caused; and as this could be done without making the least compensation for what, in other parts of the world, would be deemed a breach of contract, the settlement could not be otherwise than advantageous to the holders of the land; and that it really was so is apparent from the high price at which the usufruct of estates was afterwards sold, which, as seen above, averages ninety-four years' purchase.

What proportion the assessment now bears to the rent received from the farmers we have the means of fairly estimating. On an examination of the accounts of all estates managed by the Court of Wards, it was found to be about

¹ See Hamilton's "Hindustan," vol. i. p. 70.

one-half, and, as there is nothing peculiar in these estates, this may be taken as the average. There are, of course, exceptions to the above. Lands that, owing to ignorance of their measurement, were much under-rated at first, and have since greatly risen in value, bear a smaller proportion. A fourth share of a property in Mymensingh, the assessment of which is 30,000 rupees, was brought under the Court of Wards, when it was let for 75,000, and the person who took it received in rent 90,000. Mr. Wise, of Dacca, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, mentions an instance of an estate paying £10,000 a-year to Government, and yielding the holder £60,000. A writer in one of the metropolitan journals says there are about fifteen estates in his neighbourhood which pay less than a hundredth part of their income to Government; for instance, there is a village assessed at one rupee which yields six hundred, another at fourteen yielding eight hundred, and a third rated at eighteen returns seventeen hundred.¹

The settlement has doubtless been very advantageous to the landholder; but has it been so to the peasant-farmers? This is a question which every inquiring mind will be disposed to ask. As it is hardly possible for their condition to be worse than it was before the settlement was made, the answer cannot be otherwise than in the affirmative; but to the question in this modified shape,—“Has it been as advantageous as it might have been?”—a negative reply must be given. A few manage to live in comparative comfort, but the rest have to struggle against a multitude of evils. They are poorly fed, clad, and sheltered, and possess none of those intellectual enjoyments which tend to alleviate the state of poverty. What are the causes of this ignorance and distress, is an inquiry which will naturally arise in the bosom of every humane person; but to give it a fit reply is

¹ A Letter, signed “Monghyr,” *Calcutta Englishman*, 3rd May, 1860.

somewhat difficult. Nothing in the world is more easy than to lay the whole misery of a country at the door of its rulers ; the more empty the head the more glibly move the tongue and pen when engaged on such a topic. The Indian Government is a despotism of a mild nature, and never intentionally oppresses its subjects ; so the low condition of the peasant-farmers is not owing to the character of the constitution under which they live. Can it be attributed to a defective administration of the laws ? It is, doubtless, the first duty of a State to make its authority respected in every corner of the land, and to render the redress of the grievances of all classes, especially of the indigent, cheap and expeditious ; and not, by the imposition of taxes on the process of the law, to close the courts of justice against the poor. Tried by the above rule, every upright and intelligent person who is well acquainted with the interior of the country will be constrained to acknowledge that in these respects the Indian Government fails. The administration of the law is too dilatory and expensive for the labouring poor to avail themselves of the protection which it is designed to afford ; many, therefore, submit to oppression, extortion, and robbery, as a less evil than appealing to the courts, where he who gains his suit sustains, in money expended, in time wasted, and in injury to his crops while absent from home, a loss which he feels for years, perhaps during the whole of his after-life. Thus, left with no possibility of protection, except through a process of law which conducts to ruin, the farmers become the prey of the landholders. Some of these gentlemen are enlightened and humane, and never oppress their tenants, but many are hard-hearted, and, as the saying is, would draw blood from stones. Consigned to the tender mercies of such masters, the condition of the tenants may be readily imagined. Every opportunity of fleecing them is improved to the utmost. Towards defraying the expense of celebrat-

ing religious worship, festivals, weddings, and funeral obsequies in the family of the landholder, and for numerous other objects, donations are demanded from them, regulated in amount by their rent, and which vary on different estates from one and a-quarter to six per cent. Indeed, any tax which he may choose to levy they must pay, or expose themselves to his vengeance, which he can make them feel in a thousand ways.

It has been affirmed that Lord Cornwallis, being enamoured of rank, purposed to form of the collectors an aristocracy, and to the accomplishment of this end sacrificed the peasant-farmers. Whatever hopes he may have entertained of their being ennobled at some future period, at the time the settlement was made he considered them in no higher capacity than revenue contractors ; and, as such, required from them stringent engagements to pay punctually to the State the assessment levied on the lands assigned them, and in the event of their failing to do so they were distinctly informed that the lands would revert to the Government, be re-let, and pass from them and their children for ever. Moreover, before being put in possession of the land, they were required to declare that while holding it they would not proceed illegally against the ryots¹ (the farmers) nor in any way oppress them, so that whatever may be the evils of the

¹ Act x. of 1859 classified the ryots, with regard to their rights, under three heads—viz. : (1.) Ryots who show by documents or otherwise that the lands which they now occupy were held by their ancestors at the time the permanent settlement was made, are entitled to retain them at the rent which was then paid. (2.) Ryots who have held and cultivated their lands for the period of twelve years acquire the right of occupancy, and are entitled to retain the lands at the rates of rent which are deemed fair and equitable in the neighbourhood for lands of the same quality. (3.) Ryots who, not having acquired the right of occupancy, are tenants at will, and pay the rate of rent for which they have contracted with the landholder.

present working of the permanent settlement at the period when it was made, the protection and welfare of the cultivators of the soil were not quite forgotten.

The settlement was doubtless a financial blunder. During the period over which it has extended it has caused a loss to the State of more than £100,000,000 sterling, which have actually been given to men having no family claim to the land, and many of whom discharge none of the obligations which wealth imposes on its possessors. This loss has necessitated a heavier taxation on the rest of the inhabitants than otherwise would have been needed. It must be remembered that, though rent paid to individuals is appropriated to the maintenance of themselves and their families, and not to the benefiting of the public, the Government of India, receiving rent as the trustee of the nation, uses it for national purposes, and in this way returns it to the people; not a penny of it goes into the pockets of private persons.

Annulling the settlement is an unadvisable course to take; but this does not free the Government from duties, for the discharge of which all Governments exist; it is bound to see that the holders of the land perform their part of the contract and do not wrongfully treat their tenants. Much has been written about the breaking of pledges which at the drawing up of the settlement were never given. The great principle on which States are founded appears to be ignored. To legislate for the protection and welfare of all classes of its subjects is the inherent right of every just and well-organized Government. To neglect to enforce the law when disobeyed, or decline to amend it when needed, is a dereliction of duty.

The Government of India, knowing the landholders oppress their tenants, resolved to deprive them of the power of doing it by passing "The Bengal Tenancy Bill" of

the year 1883.¹ This grave charge of oppression is founded on facts, is supported by the testimony of many well-informed, trustworthy, disinterested persons, and is admitted, as seen in the following statement, even by the landholders themselves :—"The law entitles the Behar ryot to a patta (lease) and receipts ; yet he seldom, if ever, gets any. The law declares that the exaction of abwabs (unlawful cesses) is illegal ; yet how numerous and how heavy are the abwabs that we zemindars exact from him. His mouroosee (occupancy) tenures are altogether exempted by law from liability to enhancement ; yet, how at each change in and transfer of the zemindaree, and how easily when he sets up his head against us, we, without regard to law or justice, add something to it every year. The law protects him against ejectment ; yet how often, without any opposition from him or without any resort to law and procedure, we turn him out of his and his father's land. It is an illegal and a criminal offence to extort rent from him by duress ; yet our gomastas and barahils (rent-collectors) go and sit at the door of his house preventing egress and ingress, and deprive him of the use of our village wells until he pays off our rents, and how frequently, for the same purpose, we bring him to our kachari (office), and detain him there against his will until he satisfies our demand. The law has guaranteed to the ryot every right in property, and every facility to enjoy the fruits of his labour unmolested ; yet meekly and quietly he submits to all the indignities and ill-treatment to which the zemindar subjects him, and suffers his rights to be thus infringed ; and he seldom if ever thinks of going to court for relief—the cause of this being the terrifying influence

¹ It has been submitted to the Legislative Council several times, and a draft of it published, but it has not yet been added to the statutes of the realm. In the end, however, it is sure to be added to them, though self-interested obstruction may cause further delay.

exercised over him by the bosta (bundle of clogged accounts) of the potari¹ and gomasta,"² by which he can be proved to be deeply in debt to the landholder, though he owe him not a farthing. Every European speaking the native language, who has lived long in India and made himself acquainted with the condition of the rural parts of the country, will corroborate this account of the wrongs of the peasant-farmers—wronges perpetrated every day throughout the year. There are, however, some honourable exceptions—landholders who never ill-treat their tenants, and in all their intercourse with them are fair, considerate, and kind.

At the period the permanent settlement was made, the law secured to those who took the land, and to those who were in possession of it as cultivators,³ the same immunity—exemption from the liability to an enhancement of rent. The former have continued to enjoy this immunity down to the present day. The Government asks no more from them now than what their fathers paid near the close of the last century; but, instead of being as just to their tenants as the State has been to them, they are, as a body, in the habit of wringing from them exorbitant rents by which many are reduced to the lowest depths of poverty. This enormity is to be removed. Proper means will be taken to ascertain what is a fair rent; then the descendants of the peasant-farmers of 1793, and all others, will be protected by the law in their refusal to pay what is in excess of it. A register of rents, kept always open, is to be laid in the court of every district, as in the reign of Akbar; so that in the event of disputes arising, they can be settled at once by a reference to it. The liberty of transfer, used by the land-

¹ A collector of rents, a manager of an estate, a bailiff.

² *Journal of the East India Association*, London, December, 1883, pp. 497, 498.

³ Called khodkosta ryots.

holder for nearly a hundred years, is to be secured to the tenant. He will have the right of making over his farm to another person, who will retain it at the fixed sum which he paid for it himself. At no time and under no circumstances will an increase or a decrease be allowed to be made in the rent, except it be sanctioned by arbitrators appointed or approved of by the State.

Freed from the apprehension of rack-rents, illegal cesses, fraudulent distrains, and cruel ejectments, the peasant-farmers and their children's children will pronounce with affection and reverence the name of the Viceroy under whose administration this just and righteous law has been enacted. Should the opponents of reform denounce him, it will not be strange; the same thing happened to his illustrious countryman, Sir Robert Peel. The landlords drove him from office and execrated his name; but the poor, as they eat their bread untaxed, revere and bless him, and will continue to do so to the end of time.

In the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, and also in that part of Orissa which England did not acquire till twenty-four years after the permanent settlement was made,¹ leases are granted only for a limited period. After carefully surveying every district, village, and field, and ascertaining the productive capabilities of the different kinds of soil, the settlement is made for thirty years; and, generally speaking, due regard is paid to the interests of the holders of the land. In Oudh, 1419 square miles are settled in perpetuity, 21,071 for thirty years, and seventy-one for terms under thirty years.

In Madras the settlement is made every year. Before the rainy season sets in, the quantity of the land the farmer intends to cultivate is entered in the Government records; and when the crop is nearly ripe, the collector of the

¹ See footnote ³ on p. 67.

revenue goes over each field and fixes the rate of rent to be paid for it, regulating the amount by the likelihood of a good or bad harvest. In Bombay another mode of procedure is adopted. After the field, which may mean as much land as one man with a pair of oxen can cultivate, has been accurately surveyed, and large stones sunk in the earth to define the boundaries, the assessment is made for thirty years. The plots not taken at the time of the settlement are annually let by auction as grazing ground.

The rent which the British Government receives from the landholders, averages about elevenpence halfpenny per English acre.

Probably in no other part of the world is land let on such easy terms; and did all the holders of it—some do—deal in a fair spirit with the peasant-farmers, the rural portions of the country would become what the ancient native poets loved to picture them, poverty would be banished, the people would be well-fed, well-clad, and well-sheltered, and with happiness reigning in their homes would feel life to be a blessing.

British India has an area of 943,406 square miles; a population of 207,515,576; a revenue of £63,178,192, of which £21,348,332 is rent from land; the yearly value of its import and export trade is £128,894,084; the strength of its military force is 189,597, of which 64,726 are Europeans. The 450 native States, great and small, more or less subject to British control, and that pay £742,209 in the shape of tribute, measure 627,465 square miles; contain 48,376,247 inhabitants; have a revenue of £16,000,000; and armies that number 314,625 men. These facts give some idea of the vastness of the empire of India, whose history is not less instructive than that of the empires of Rome, of Greece, of Persia, and of Babylon.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INSTITUTION OF CASTE.

IN Britain men divide themselves into classes, make distinctions because of birth, position, education, and wealth, but debar none from entering the path which leads to rank and fame. Here and there twos and threes press forward on it, and now and then one and another reach the goal. Ability, associated with personal worth, can rise to eminence. The son of a cotton-spinner may be Prime Minister ; the son of a barber may sit on the Woolsack ; a woollen manufacturer may become, in the estimation of persons of all shades of politics, the orator of the age ; a scholar for his writings, naval and military officers for their valour, may be enrolled among the peers of the realm. In Hindostan, however rich and virtuous, learned and brave a native may be, he cannot be raised from a lower to a higher caste ; as soon may the leopard change his spots, and the Ethiopian his skin, as such a transition take place. Caste fixes for ever the rank and condition of men ; puts their domestic, social, civil, and religious affairs under rigid, unchangeable laws ; regulates their intercourse with each other, the relations of life upon which they enter, and every turn they take in the pursuit of profit or pleasure ; prescribes rules of conduct which apply to every portion of time, to their sleeping as well as to their wakeful hours,—indeed, without the least interval of free-

dom, subjects them to its power from the commencement to the close of their lives.

The common name given to the institution which divides the people into distinct orders is "borno"¹ in the Sanskrit, and "jate"² in the Bengali language. Caste is a Portuguese word, used only by Europeans in India and their countrymen at home. The institution is believed to be of divine origin, and coeval with the Hindoo race. The priest, it is said, proceeded from the mouth of Brohma, the soldier from his arm, the trading and agricultural class from his thigh, and the serving class from his foot. Brahmon, Kshotriyo, Boishyo, and Shoodra, were the names he gave them. He assigned to all creatures distinct names, distinct acts, and distinct occupations.³

Besides being commanded to study the scriptures, present oblations and sacrifices, and perform other religious duties, Brahmons were made privy-counsellors and judges;⁴ were objects of royal benevolence,⁵ exempted from taxation,⁶ and not liable, whatever they might do, to the infliction of corporal punishment.⁷ The people paid them divine honours, received their blessing, and enriched them with gifts. To the military class were assigned the defence of the kingdom,⁸ the administration of the laws,⁹ the protection of the persons and the property of the inhabitants, especially the persons and property of the Brahmons.¹⁰ They were allowed to wear the "poita," the sacrificial thread, to read the scriptures, and to perform religious ceremonies without the intervention of a priest.¹¹ Of this caste were the monarchs both of the

¹ Colour, hue, tint, class, order, tribe.

² Class, order, tribe, nation, family, race.

³ Institutes of Monoo, i. 31, 21; and Hymn of the Yajur Veda.

⁴ Institutes of Monoo, vii. 37; viii. 11. ⁵ *Ibid.* vii. 79.

⁶ *Ibid.* vii. 133. ⁷ *Ibid.* viii. 124. ⁸ *Ibid.* vii. 160-216.

⁹ *Ibid.* ix. 251-253. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* viii. 302, 309, 343, 344; ix. 313-324.

¹¹ *Ibid.* vii. 2; x. 1-4; vii. 145; iii. 75-93.

solar and the lunar dynasties. The third, like the second class, were girt with the sacrificial cord, and permitted to read the Vedas, the sacred books.¹ The occupations assigned them were trade, agriculture, and the keeping of herds and flocks.² The Shoodra was created to serve the three higher classes, especially the priestly order, and might be compelled to perform servile duty.³ He was always to be a slave. Neither money nor kindness could set him free. "Though emancipated by his master, he was not, the law said, released from a state of servitude ; for of a state which is natural to him by whom can he be divested?"⁴ If his property were taken by a Brahmon he was quietly to submit to the deprivation ; he had no remedy, because the law empowered the Brahmon to supply his necessities by appropriating to his own use the money and goods of any person of the serving class.⁵

The numbers of the second and third orders are now comparatively few ; most persons belong to the first or the fourth, and the last-mentioned of these, the Shoodras, are believed to form as much as seven-eighths, if not nine-tenths, of the Hindoo population of the present day. By subdivisions the number of castes has greatly increased, so that instead of four there are now more than forty, which are separate communities, cherishing no fraternal affection, holding no social intercourse, keeping apart like strangers.

Besides the four primary orders which have been mentioned there were, even in the earliest times, what are called the mixed classes, the offspring of an illicit intercourse between the different castes. They were a very numerous body, and special laws were framed for the regulation of

¹ *Institutes of Monoo*, ix. 326 ; x. 1.

² *Ibid.* ix. 326, 327.

³ *Ibid.* ix. 334, 335 ; viii. 413.

⁴ *Ibid.* viii. 414.

⁵ *Ibid.* viii. 417 ; x. 129.

their conduct, which breathe a spirit of great injustice and cruelty.¹

Under native dynasties, when Brahmons exercised a power which even kings resisted at their peril, the rules of caste could be rigorously enforced. The delinquent was driven from home, and renounced by his relations and friends. Neighbours would not admit him into their houses, eat, drink or smoke with him. Indeed none of his countrymen would hold any intercourse with him or do anything for him. Wayfarers passed but never saluted him. Inns were closed against him as against the plague. Loathed and shunned whithersoever he wandered, his cup of sorrow was filled to the brim, and he had to drink it alone without a word or a look of kindness to mitigate the anguish of his soul. Sympathy was forbidden and severely punished if it were manifested. However, such hardness of heart was engendered not only by the institution of caste, but by nearly every other portion of Hindooism; one striking proof of this was the conduct of those of the highest rank to persons in humble life.

The pre-eminent characteristic of Christianity is its sympathy with the poor, hence wherever Christians dwell their presence is indicated by the existence of various charitable institutions supported by their bounty. Of this sympathy what more pleasing evidence could be afforded than the gifts of Christians in their respective churches on "Hospital Sunday," a Sunday which adds another to the many glories of the English nation? In this respect Hindooism is a contrast to Christianity. In former times the priestly order regarded the serving and the mixed classes, the poor and the lowly, with hatred and contempt, and doomed them to undergo sufferings such as have seldom been inflicted by the most cruel of tyrants; and, for the honour of our

¹ Institutes of Monoo, x.

common nature, one would fain hope that the administrators of the law, prompted by their better feelings, showed some compassion to the victims. If a Shoodra placed himself on the same seat with a Brahmon, he was to be banished with a mark or a gash made on his hinder parts.¹ If he defamed insulted or mentioned priests with contumely, he was to be whipped, have his tongue slit, and an iron style, ten fingers long, thrust red-hot into his mouth.² If he presumed to give them instruction concerning their duty, hot oil was to be dropped into his mouth and his ears.³ The name he bore was to be expressive of contempt,⁴ and the penance for killing him the same as for killing a crow, a frog, a lizard, or a cat.⁵ Imparting sacred knowledge to him is pronounced an act not worthy of praise, but one which is to be severely punished. "He who declares the law to a servile man, or instructs him in the mode of expiating sin, surely sinks with that very man to the hell named Asamvrita."⁶ Speaking of the Chondals, one of the mixed classes, who are descended from a Shoodra father and a Brahmonic mother,⁷ the code says :—

"Their abode must be out of the town ; they must not have the use of entire vessels ; their sole wealth must be dogs and asses.

"Their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased ; their dishes for food, broken pots ; their ornaments, rusty iron ; continually must they roam from place to place.

"Let no man, who regards his duty religious and civil, hold any intercourse with them ; let their transactions be confined to themselves, and their marriages only between equals.

¹ Institutes of Monoo, viii. 281.

² *Ibid.* viii. 267, 270, 271.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 31.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv. 81.

³ *Ibid.* viii. 272.

⁵ *Ibid.* xi. 132.

⁷ *Ibid.* x. 12.

“Let food be given them in potsherds, but not by the hands of the giver; and let them not walk by night in cities or towns.

By day they may walk about for the purpose of work, distinguished by the king's badges; and they shall carry out the corpse of every one who dies without kindred: such is the fixed rule.”¹

As such outrages on justice and humanity are not allowed to be perpetrated under British rule, it is affirmed by some persons who have not been in India, that whatever caste may have been in former times, it is now the same, in all essential points, as rank in Europe. This is a great mistake; hardly any two things could be more unlike each other. In England, a poor clergyman of noble birth will dine in the family of a wealthy commoner, and may become connected with it by marriage; whereas if a poor Brahmon, which frequently happens, be in the service of a rich landholder, a princely merchant, who is a Shoodra, he will refuse to dine with him, will refuse to drink water from the same vessel, will, as much as possible, avoid touching him lest he should be polluted, and would not marry his daughter though she possessed every personal attraction and brought him a large fortune. Even those of the people who are reduced to the necessity of begging exhibit great scrupulosity. They will indeed take money from any one, because money is believed not to be defiled by passing through different hands, but they will not take food which has been cooked by their co-religionists of lower castes than themselves. In the most destitute and miserable Hindoo there is an exclusiveness, a pride, an arrogance, a repudiation of brotherhood, fostered by caste, of which there is no parallel among the lords or the monarchs of Europe. A man almost naked, with only a dirty rag round his loins, homeless and suffering hunger,

¹ Institutes of Monoo, x. 51-55.

stands on his dignity, declines to do anything that may cause him to descend in the scale of being from the place which the Creator is supposed to have assigned him. Contemning all nations as of inferior birth, and all foreigners, from the private soldier to the Governor-General, as people of an impure race, he will grovel in the dust before a Brahmon, will lie prostrate on the ground that the Brahmon may place his foot on his head, and for this priestly act of condescension be loud in his expressions of gratitude and praise.

That caste repudiates the brotherhood of mankind, teaches the high to scorn the low, and to keep aloof from them lest they should be defiled, is clearly proved by the outbursts of antipathy which occasionally happen. A short time ago the editor of the *Ahmedabad News* brought an action against the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway Company, because there was a person of the sweeper caste in the carriage in which he travelled. The despised man sat on the floor of the carriage, and the guard having urged him to make himself comfortable by sitting on the bench, was considered an aggravation of the affront.¹ In another action against the same railway, the complainants said that the authorities, "contrary to religion," caused a person of low caste to be seated in the same carriage with them while they were going to Baroda. They were consequently obliged to change their dress, to throw away their food, and to have their turbans newly coloured. They therefore sued the company for ten shillings damages.² Speaking of his intercourse with learned natives, and of their apprehension of becoming impure by associating with foreigners, Professor Monier Williams says : "I often wondered when in India, why certain great pondits preferred calling on me very early

¹ *Homeward Mail*, 15th July, 4th August, 1873, pp. 719, 790.

² *Ibid.* 2nd June, 1873, p. 567.

in the morning, till I found out accidentally that, by coming before bathing, they were able afterwards to purify themselves, by religious ablutions, from the contamination incurred by shaking hands and talking with me."¹

The value placed on caste may be inferred, not only from the care taken to avoid pollution, but also from the expense and humiliation to which delinquents submit in order to be restored to their forfeited privileges. Baboo Kalee Mohan Das, a much-respected advocate of the Calcutta High Court, paid a thousand pounds to be received again into fellowship. The ceremonies which were performed on the occasion cost him one half of this sum, and the other half was disbursed in donations to pious works.² In a meeting held in Calcutta on the 6th of January, 1867, a native Christian was restored to Hindooism. He made humble confession of his apostacy, and submitted to the prescribed penalties. A part of the usual atonement is "swallowing the five pure things produced by the cow : milk, curds, butter, urine, and dung,"³ mixed together ; believed to expiate the guilt of even the greatest sins, and to purify both the body and the soul. On the day mentioned a considerable number of persons assembled before noon, and by three o'clock, the time appointed, the place was crowded. Then, standing before his father, drawing a part of his loose upper garment round his neck, and folding his hands,—signs of humility,—Deeno Nath said : " Oh Princes, gentleman, and pondits, I have forgotten myself, and have, by the instigation of several Christians, lost my religion. This was because I did not know my religion. Another religion was placed in my way, and my ambition was roused. Have pity on me, and

¹ "Modern India and the Indians," by Professor Monier Williams, published in 1878, p. 182.

² *Homeward Mail*, 12th January, 1874, p. 37.

³ *Institutes of Monoo*, xi. 166.

endeavour to restore me." Upon this his father, Mehta Sukh Dyal, following the example of his son, drawing his upper garment round his neck, and folding his hands, said : "He is very young, only fourteen years and a few months ; he has fallen by the instigation of others : have regard to his age and want of experience, and bear also in mind the disgrace and misery into which I and my ancestors are plunged. His fall has been very expensive to me in every way ; on that subject, however, I will not dwell. Remember that I am of Kshotriyo origin, and I implore you to bear your own unsullied origin in mind, and do your best for the restoration of this unhappy young man, for which in this and the next world you will reap blessings. You will also save his wife from a most miserable widowhood by having compassion on him, and remove a blot from my family. I swear to you that the youth has sinned only from ignorance, and that he is firmly attached to the Hindoo religion. Test him, he is now before you." On this the learned men made particular inquiries of Deeno Nath concerning his apostacy, and being of opinion it was occasioned by his want of knowledge, they asked him what he wished them to do. He replied, to re-admit him into his old faith. He was then asked how long he had been in a strange faith, to which he answered that he had eaten with Christians only five days, Guided by their scriptures, which, according to their interpretation, declare a minor can be forgiven even after nineteen months of apostacy, they resolved, on account of his youth, and the short period of his transgression, that he should be pardoned and restored to his ancient faith. This resolution was written down, and signed by all present.¹ The penalty for going abroad is excommunication. This is inflicted on the culprit himself, and on all persons who venture to hold intercourse with

¹ Supplement to the *Calcutta Englishman*, 22nd January, 1867.

him. Many of the Nagur Bania caste who had dined with Kursondas Modhavdas after his return from England to Bombay, were put out of the community, and did penance to be re-admitted. The ceremony of expiation was performed at Walheshwar on the 7th of April, 1871. "The men had their moustaches shaved off, and the young, who had no moustaches, submitted to the same operation in respect to the hair of their heads. After bathing in the tank, each member swallowed pills made of the five products of the cow, under the direct superintendence of two priests appointed for the purpose." Thus purified, they were again allowed to join caste dinners and other social gatherings.¹ The following is a similar occurrence of more recent date, which happened in 1878. Baboo Monmotha C. Mullick, who visited England, and there qualified himself for the bar, was, on his return to Bengal, denounced for the sins he had committed. "These sins consisted in having crossed the ocean, and in eating and drinking with Europeans." He took the purifying pill, had his face and his head shaved, and presented gifts to the Brahmons; was thus restored to society, to the privilege of associating with his caste-fellows in every domestic and religious ceremony.²

It has been maintained that the institution of caste contributed in the early stages of society to the well-being of the country; making particular employments hereditary in families, secured from generation to generation skilful artisans, and an ever-increasing excellence in their work; forming the inhabitants into accurately defined communities accelerated the progress of civilization; and placing all under severe restraints, checked vice and promoted virtue. This system has been in existence during a period

¹ *Homeward Mail*, 8th May, 1871, p. 579.

² *The Pioneer Mail*, Allahabad, Saturday, 30th March, 1878, p. 4.

sufficiently long to show its real tendency. It has been in operation more than two thousand years, and what is the result? In the judgment not only of strangers, but in the judgment of India herself, the result is this, that nations which, compared with her, are but of yesterday, excel her in every line of business. The silks from Macclesfield and Coventry she prefers to those woven in her own looms. The piece-goods of Manchester she buys in every town and village at a price for which she could not manufacture them herself, though she has the raw material at hand. The hardware of Sheffield and Birmingham is superseding her own. Her earthenware is giving place to that of the Staffordshire potteries. Her printers, joiners, carpenters, wheelwrights, and blacksmiths are just tolerable; her sculptors and painters are not even tolerable. Indeed, excepting perhaps the Moorsheadabad carvers in ivory, the Delhi jewellers, the Dacca muslin, and the Cashmere shawl-weavers, she has no artisans whose work is fit to compete with the ordinary productions of artisans in Europe. As for her doctors, who have not been instructed by foreign teachers, they speak of the internal structure of the body, and of the functions of its respective organs, in a way to be laughed at, could one keep out of sight the grim effects such ignorance is producing. Her geography is more marvellous than the fairy tales of childhood. There are seven seas: the salt sea, the sea of fresh water, the sea of spirituous liquors, the sea of sugar-cane juice, the sea of milk, the sea of curds, and the sea of clarified butter; there are mountains with peaks of iron, of silver, of gold, of pearls, and of precious stones,—wonders and riches not to be found anywhere else.

Caste, it is said, was instituted to promote virtue. Virtue springs from an innate love of what is pure, good, and right, and cannot be produced by legislative enactments, or be

destroyed by them. The application of physical force cannot make men think according to the formulas prescribed by the Government under which they live. The infliction of severe penalties may secure much outward conformity. This it doubtless did during the reign of native kings, when Brahmons possessed power to enforce the laws of caste, and used it cruelly. As the English Government is neutral in its bearing towards the respective religions of the country, Hindoos, in giving expression to their opinions, speak now with some degree of freedom, and from what they say, a correct idea may be formed of the tendency of this singular institution. They are more competent than foreigners to sit in judgment upon it, because they are acquainted not only with those occurrences that take place in public, from which foreigners derive most of their information, but with the details of the home-life of their countrymen, which foreigners do not know. It may, however, be here proper to remark, that a few of the native reformers of the present day, being more licentious than patriotic, wish for the removal of all restraints, and are at war with virtue itself; but most of the reformers, it is pleasing to know, are of a widely different character, and labour to destroy caste because they believe it impedes not only the social and the intellectual, but the moral improvement of the nation. They are well aware that in some cases, in which praise rather than punishment is merited, the law of caste is administered with great rigour, while in many cases of gross wickedness it is not enforced at all; they therefore regard it as the enemy of virtue and of everything else likely to promote the real welfare of the country, and consequently speak of it in strong condemnatory language. The *Indian Mirror* says: "Caste, according to a local contemporary, is a sort of social police, and protects the community against crimes and offences which the law could neither reach nor adequately

punish. Far would it be from us to decry a power on the side of virtue. But we know too well that this is not the direction in which the operation of our modern castism lies. It does not lay its ban on the grossest profligacy and debauchery which can stare the open day out of countenance. No man was ever known to lose caste because he was known to be a notorious frequenter of brothels, or a rogue, a gambler, or a thief. One may make himself the terror of his neighbourhood, as the insidious invader of domestic peace and the ruthless violator of conjugal honour; he does nothing against caste, he loses nothing among his caste-fellows. He might forge or rob, just as little would they care. Any one at all acquainted with native society, must know that the rules of caste do not form either an active or a passive check on moral action. Where caste now acts with deadliest effect, is where we want the greatest liberty. Caste will not interfere with the depraved in passions and heart, but with the free in intellect, the noble and self-devoted in impulse and deed. Its efforts are wholly and solely directed to check the growth of thought, and to punish those who offend against orthodoxy. It is the greatest foe which is encountered by the party of Reform."¹ The editor of *Native Opinion* writes in the same strain, and thus describes the present state of Hindoo society: "There is no moral standard which regulates caste. A man may cheat, perjure himself, commit theft or highway robbery, be convicted and sent to the Andamans for years, and yet he does not lose caste. Another may live in open, shameless profligacy, patronize the lowest devotees of Bacchus and Venus, and his caste is said to suffer no taint. In fact, if a man have money in his purse, and a modicum of brains in his head, he is not likely to lose caste under any circumstances, if he but keep up appearances. At the same time,

¹ *Indian Mirror*, 15th November, 1862, p. 339.

the least trifle, involving no legal or moral guilt, costs a man the loss of his caste."¹ This is strong language, but can hardly be attributed to ignorance, prejudice, or hostile feeling, as it most probably would have been had it been employed by foreigners. It is the language of earnest men, who reverence truth and will not equivocate to excuse evil, who have the welfare of India at heart, and will persevere in their patriotic labours till the slavery of caste be abolished.

Caste is founded on a law which is believed to be sacred. The British Councils in India legislate for the material interests of the country, and never interfere with the religious institutions of the people, except when, as in sotee and infanticide, the sanction of religion is pleaded to justify the commission of murder. The law is the same now as when first promulgated; it has not changed, but the number of persons who disregard it is gradually increasing, and will continue to do so till all the inhabitants have ceased to observe it. Owing to the diffusion of the Gospel, the spread of education, and the growing intelligence of the age, there is reason to hope its end is not very distant, and that some now living may see it pass away.

¹ *The Friend of India*, 12th October, 1865, p. 1198.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WORSHIP OF THE GANGES.

THE rivers in India which are reputed sacred, amount to as many as thirty-one; two are deified as males and twenty-nine as females. Among them the Ganges is held to be the chief. When about to depart from heaven to our planet, the gods earnestly besought her not to leave their abode, as, during her absence, their iniquities could never be washed away. She therefore promised to flow through the respective regions of both worlds, and be the means of purification to their inhabitants. As such a vast volume of water, rushing from so great an elevation, might crush in the earth, the god Shivo intervened to break the fall. Standing on the top of the snowy mountains,¹ the river descended on his head, and worked its way through his matted hair to the ground. The sage, Bhageeroth, blowing the conch,² allured the river to follow his steps, as he went on and on, till the ocean was reached. The regions through which she took her course yielding abundant crops, the recipients of her bounty thanked and adored her, which they have done several thousand years down to the present day.

The descent of the Gonga to the earth is commemorated on the tenth day of the moon's increase in Joishtho,³ when

¹ Himavat.

² Used in India for libations, or as a blowing-horn.

³ Containing part of May and part of June.

rice, sweetmeats, fruit, and flowers are reverently offered to her. She is represented as a woman of fair complexion, "wearing a crown, sitting on the sea-animal, Mokoro,¹ and having in her right hand the water-lily, and in her left the lute."² In the courts of justice, Hindoo witnesses swore by the water of the Ganges, as the Jews swear on the Old, and Christians on the New Testament. In the territories of native princes this continues to be done, but in the British dominions is not now obligatory. By the statute passed in the year 1840, it is enacted that no native witnesses shall be compelled in any court of justice to be sworn upon the Koran, or by the water of the Ganges, or according to any other forms which are repugnant to their consciences or feelings; but, instead of taking such oaths, shall be allowed to make a solemn affirmation as to the truth of their testimony.

All castes bathe in the sacred stream, and while performing their ablutions, offer the rites of divine worship to Gonga, with which are often blended ascriptions of praise to other deities. Bathing every day is enjoined, yet the religious benefit arising from it is believed to be greater in some months than in others,³ and at the full moon in those months than at other times. At certain stages of the waxing and waning of the moon, on the first, the sixth, the eleventh, and the last night of the moon's appearance, special merit accrues to bathers in every month throughout the year. On some occasions groups, consisting of few or many persons, are accompanied by a priest. He stands with them in the

¹ A marine monster, probably a seal; an imaginary marine monster representing the sign Capricorn.

² "Ward on the Hindoos," vol. iii. p. 206.

³ In Jorshtho, part of May and part of June; in Kartik, part of October and part of November; in Magh, part of January and part of February.

water, and, after speaking of the blessings arising from the act of bathing at that particular period, goes through the forms of devotion prescribed by the Shastros. For the purpose of bathing in the river, and visiting the portions of it celebrated for their reputed sanctity, many thousands, probably some millions, make long journeys every year, which cause not only great expenditure of money, but, from the fatigue of travelling and much exposure to the scorching rays of the sun, great loss of life. The water of the Ganges is carried in vessels to very distant parts of the country to be used in purifying persons, places, and things that happen to have been defiled. A look at the river in the morning is believed to be sufficient to take away the sins of the night, and a look in the evening to take away the sins of the day. Though Mohammedans dress their food while sailing on the Ganges, Hindoos deem it an act of pollution and one of great impiety; they consequently wait till the vessel anchors, when they cook on shore, and, after the meal is over, go again on board.

Such reverence for rivers, however, is not peculiar to India; it is felt in a greater or less degree by the people of other lands which are unenlightened by the Gospel; and at this there can be little surprise, for, except the luminaries in the firmament, few objects among the works of creation are more likely to awaken reverence. Great and wonderful events, which have influenced the condition and destinies of the world, have transpired on the banks of rivers; and from these, independently of their own intrinsic qualities, they acquire in the estimation of mankind an importance which increases with the progress of time. This reflected glory gives grandeur to the Tiber and sacredness to the Jordan. Large rivers have breadth, depth, and velocity which suggest the idea of greatness, the teeming riches they bring to the regions through which they flow excite lively

gratitude, which, on the borders of the Nile and the Ganges, develops itself in acts of worship; they contribute to the wealth of states, the extension of commerce and civilisation, and in every age artists and poets draw inspiration from their majesty and beauty. Of the magnitude of the Ganges some idea may be obtained from the following facts. During its winding, mountainous course of eight hundred miles, it is fed by twenty-one streams, and in its journey through the plains receives, besides many rivers of less note, eleven tributaries, some of which are equal to the Rhine, and none smaller than the Thames; from its source to the ocean is a distance of more than fifteen hundred miles, and its average discharge per minute is a volume of water measuring 14,550,000 cubic feet.¹

Every portion of the Ganges is reputed holy, but some parts are deemed more sacred than others. Such, for instance, as Horidwar,² where it issues from the mountains into the plains; Allahabad, the place of its confluence with the Jumna,³ and the imperceptible Soroswotee,⁴ which is said to flow underground, and in some mysterious manner unite with the streams above; and the island of Sagor, at the junction of the river with the ocean. Here it was usual, in the performance of vows, to offer children in sacrifice. Many thousands were presented, thrown into the waters, and drowned. These human sacrifices were permitted to be made not only in the reign of Hindoo kings and throughout the period of Mohammedan rule, but for nearly half-a-century while India was governed by

¹ See Rennell's "Memoir of a Map of Hindostan," pp. 313, 335.

² The gate of Hori—*Hori*, Vishnoo; *dwar*, door, gate.

³ The Jumna is the daughter of the sun, and the sister of Yomo, the regent of death and the judge of hell.

⁴ The goddess of learning, the daughter of Brohma and the wife of Vishnoo.

Christians. They were prohibited during the administration of the Marquis of Wellesley, which closed in the year 1805.

The western branch of the river, called Bhageerothee,¹ is pronounced more holy than the portion which runs easterly² and joins the Bromhapootro.³ According to the Shastros, the portions which possess an eminent degree of sanctity amount to as many as 3,500,000, and the person who bathes in the river, or does no more than look at it, obtains the whole of the benefit which arises from visiting all these holy places. Bathing, accompanied with prayer, removes the crimes of thousands of previous births; if guilty of killing cows, Brahmons, his priest, or drinking ardent spirits, and the culprit merely touch the water, and at the time of the act supplicate pardon, these deadly sins are forgiven; if the votary die on the road, when going to bathe, the blessings of the ablution which he contemplated accrue to his soul; and if, when at the point of death, though as many as eight hundred miles distant from the river, he only think of it, he becomes pure and worthy of a seat in paradise.

In the estimation of men who have lived all their lives in a Christian country, far distant from the regions of the pagan world, the opinions entertained of this celebrated river may appear to be as frivolous as those entertained of the deities of ancient Greece and Rome, and, abstractedly considered, they doubtless are so; but, influencing the condition and destinies of nearly a fifth of the human family, the results which they produce are of a grave character. Every day millions bathe in the river, not only

¹ Called after the sage Bhageeroth; this name may be given to the river from its source to its mouth, as the name Gonga is given to it.

² Called Podmo, the water-lily.

³ The son of Brohma; *pootro*, son.

for the preservation of health, but with the expectation of washing away their guilt. At this moment hundreds, perhaps thousands, taking their last look of the Ganges, are dying on her banks, with no other hope of salvation than the delusive one with which she has inspired them.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHARACTER OF THE HINDOOS.

As India has an area which exceeds the united measurement of Spain, Italy, Austria, Prussia, France, and Great Britain, contains 255 millions of people, composed of many distinct races, speaking many different languages, the inhabitants of the respective provinces are, as might be expected, somewhat unlike each other; but as delineating with minuteness every shade of difference would make the account interminable, only prominent features can be noticed,—those general virtues and vices which all admit to exist in every portion of the empire, though few concur in opinion regarding the degree of their prevalence.

The character of a people is formed by their sacred, civil, social, and domestic institutions; their pursuits and mode of life. A correct opinion of it cannot be founded on extraordinary events. To paint the French as a sanguinary people on account of the crimes of the Revolution, and the English as immoral because of the profligate reign of Charles the Second, would be unjust; so the foul deeds of the Mutiny, the massacres in Delhi, Jhansi, and Cawnpore, do not render the inhabitants of India a bloody and an infamous race; for they, like other nations, must be judged, not by the outbursts of ferocity in periods of anarchy, but by the occurrences of ordinary times. Their character has

been moulded by what has been in operation for ages, and which would have exercised on any other branch of the family of man an influence equally potent.

In mental capacity they are inferior to no nation, and in graceful manners superior to many. They are also distinguished for sobriety. Drunkenness, however, is spreading. Men staggering under the influence of liquor is a spectacle which the streets of the metropolis and of provincial towns now and then present to the view ; and excessive drinking in secret is a habit which is indulged in, especially among the upper classes. Nearly everywhere, in greater or less numbers, there are, frequenters of taverns, educated young gentlemen, once the hope and pride of their families, whom intemperance has ruined. But these painful facts do not warrant the sweeping conclusions which have been drawn from them ; for, however low individuals may have fallen by this degrading vice, it is not a characteristic of the nation. The vast majority of the people never take anything stronger than water, and abominate all intoxicating liquors and drugs. Indeed, were a comparison made, it would probably be found that the number of inhabitants which contains one drunkard among Hindoos contains in most of the nations of Europe as many as a thousand. To their virtue of temperance must be added that of frugality. On festivals, marriages, and obsequies they spend very large sums, and in doing this some of them get much in debt ; but in their ordinary mode of living they are economical, and there being now no apprehension of others appropriating the fruits of their toil, instances of princely fortunes being accumulated are numerous. Never were they so great in number under any native dynasty, for then royal and priestly hands vied with each other in robbing the people. How little protection the laws of the country afforded them may be learned from the following portion of

their ancient code :—"No superfluous collection of wealth must be made by a Shoodra, even though he have power to make it, since a servile man who has amassed riches becomes proud, and, by his insolence or neglect, gives pain even to Brahmons."¹ Though frugal, the love of accumulating is not accompanied by indifference to the welfare of those who have claims to their affection and bounty. Their domestic system tends to foster a spirit of kindness. It still contains much of a patriarchal character. Though perfectly free to live apart, married sons, with their families, generally reside under the paternal roof. On the death of the father, the eldest son takes his place as the manager of the ancestral property, and as their representative in all important affairs ;² and when no estate is left to need his vigilance and care, they look up to him as the head of the house. Living on the same premises does not, however, lead to the destruction of individual rights. Still, the prosperous member of the family, whoever he may be, helps those who require his aid ; and it is no unusual thing for him to maintain several brothers, with their wives and children. This benevolence is not so much abused as might be apprehended. The objects of it are generally grateful, and on a fortunate change in their circumstances acknowledge in a suitable manner the kindness which has been shown them. Yet the instances are numerous of its being productive of evil—of unworthy recipients, leading the lives of drones, and by indolence and extravagance reducing their generous kinsmen to poverty. Though the Hindoos

¹ Institutes of Monoo, x. 129.

² "The eldest son may take entire possession of the patrimony, and the others may live under him, as they lived under their father, unless they choose to be separated. Let the father alone support his sons, and the first-born his younger brothers ; and let them behave to the eldest according to law, as children should behave to their father."—Institutes of Monoo, ix. 105, 108.

shrink from dining with persons belonging to an inferior class, believing they would be polluted by partaking of the food, the respective castes exercise hospitality among themselves, and pay some regard, whether they be rich or poor, to the following injunctions in their ancient laws:—"To the guest who comes of his own accord let the housekeeper offer a seat and water, with such food as he is able to prepare, after the due rites of courtesy. Grass and earth to sit on, water to wash the feet, and, fourthly, affectionate speech, are at no time deficient in the mansions of the good, although they may be indigent. No guest must be dismissed in the evening by a housekeeper. He is sent by the retiring sun; and whether he come in fit season or unseasonably, he must not sojourn in the house without entertainment. Let not himself eat any delicate food without asking his guest to partake of it; the satisfaction of a guest will assuredly bring the housekeeper wealth, reputation, long life, and a place in heaven."¹ Beyond the caste and family circle, their beneficence is exhibited in the digging of wells and tanks to supply water to man and beast, and to lands which need irrigating; the erection of ghats for the convenience of the people when they go to the river to bathe, to fetch water, or to cross the ferry; the building of houses for the reception and entertainment of strangers; and the planting of avenues of trees on the high-roads, to shade travellers from the scorching rays of the sun. In a country like India, these works are eminently useful, and in every age vast sums of money have been expended on them.

It may be asked, Is the Hindoo compassionate and helpful in periods of great calamity? Naturally, he is not less humane than other people, but his religion much impedes the development of his kindly feelings. Led astray by the

¹ Institutes of Monoo, iii. 99, 101, 105, 106.

prejudices of caste, apprehending defilement from coming in contact with persons of inferior rank, he neglects the more active offices of charity. The Shoodra, fallen, faint with hunger, he may pass, and not stretch out his hand to raise him ; to commiserate the fever-stricken patient, apply the cooling liquid to his burning brow, lift the cup of water to his parched lips, and watch by his bedside, speaking to him words of sympathy and comfort,—to tread in the steps of a Howard and a Nightingale, ministering angels to their species,—is a course from which he may shrink with horror ; because he is taught to repudiate the brotherhood of mankind, and the duty of personal attendance on the lowly in affliction and sorrow. And from this teaching it arose that hospitals for the sick, the leper, and the insane ; asylums for the blind, the aged poor, the widow and the orphan, —institutions which form the peculiar glory of Christian lands,—were quite unknown in India during the reign of native monarchs.

In periods of great calamity, Hindoos show their sympathy with suffering by making donations of money and of food. To prove them to be unconcerned about the welfare of others, it is alleged that they did very little to mitigate the horrors caused by the cyclone in October, 1864. To the Relief Fund, which amounted to £35,400, their subscriptions, compared with those of other classes of the community, were small ; but they may have expended, as they themselves affirm, large sums in charity in the rural districts, which never came to the knowledge of the Calcutta journals ; and in the absence of that full information which is requisite to form a right opinion, it would hardly be just to consider the charge established. It is pleasing to turn from this supposed indifference to the kindness which they exhibited towards their countrymen, who, in 1865 and 1866, suffered from a failure of the crops and the consequent rise of pro-

visions to famine prices. In Calcutta alone (and the humane spirit manifested in the metropolis pervaded the provinces), at twenty-four houses, not for the same time at each, but for a period varying from one to three months, the number daily fed was 19,000.¹

Besides feeding the hungry that daily came to their dwellings for food, they contributed, from the commencement of the famine till there was no longer occasion for help, to the funds which were raised for the relief of the province of Orissa. Their subscriptions of two or three months will be sufficient to show their sympathy with distress. The sums they gave from the 22nd of February to the 11th of May, 1867, as published in the *Calcutta Englishman*, amounted to 34,569 rupees. They were generous and helpful in the famine which happened in Bengal in the year 1874. Baboo Gredharee Singh gave £200; the Moharaja of Bettiah, £250; Raja Comul Krishno, £1000; the Moharaja of Puttiala, £1000; the Moharaja of Jeypore, £2000; the Moharaja of Burdwan, £2600; and at a public meeting held in Calcutta on the 4th of February, to form a fund for the relief of the distressed districts, native notabilities subscribed £11,000. The Mahoranee Surnomoye of Cossimbazaar, besides remitting to her tenants, on her estates situated in the counties of Rungpore and Moorshedabad, the rent of their farms, imported 357 tons of rice for gratuitous distribution; the Ranee of Bobilee bought for gratuitous distribution 1437 tons; and the Bettiah Moharaja fed 3000 people every day. The Moharaja of Burdwan, who had, as stated above, subscribed munificently to the Famine Relief Fund, organized a relief department on his estates, with centres in Burdwan, Culna, and Chinsurah. "His Highness issued orders for the purchase and importation of rice, and authorized the follow-

¹ The details, as published in the *Calcutta Englishman*, are now before me.

ing methods of relief: Food to be distributed gratuitously to old and infirm men and women, and to children; able-bodied persons asking relief to give their labour in return, and all applying to be employed; lastly, in order to keep skilled workmen off the relief works, employment to be found for them in their own trade."¹

The fore-mentioned charities were dictated by the ordinary feelings of humanity, but there is a benevolence which is exercised under religious influences, and it can hardly be left out of consideration in forming an opinion of the character of a people. The Hindoos pay great attention to sacred rites, and devote to them much money and time. The sums yearly expended on marriages and obsequies, priests and temples, shrines and sacrifices, the celebration of festivals, and the performance of ordinary ceremonies, probably exceed twenty millions of pounds sterling.²

Respecting the probity of the Hindoos, Englishmen who have resided among them differ very much in the opinions which they entertain. That the natives of India are eager for gain, and not always scrupulous about the means of procuring it, must be admitted, but the question to be considered is not the existence of dishonesty among them, it is the degree of its prevalence. On this point an accurate opinion may be best formed by looking at the conduct of persons in different grades of society. In noticing that of the labouring classes, a few words may be said respecting those who fill the place of servants in the families of Europeans. Probably no servants in the world have more favourable

¹ See *The Homeward Mail*, 10th February; and 2nd, 9th, 16th, and 30th of March, 1874.

² With the view of ascertaining the approximate amount of the revenues of Hindooism, I made, during many years, inquiries of all classes, as to the average of their annual religious expenses, and from the particulars which I received, I am disposed to think that the aggregate much exceeds the sum mentioned above.

opportunities to rob their masters; our houses are open not only in the day, but in the night, and they can go in and out at pleasure, yet larceny is not so frequent as might be apprehended. Servants in the metropolis and in the cities and towns in the provinces, that come from distant parts of India, make remittances to their families through friends or acquaintances who are proceeding on leave to visit their homes, and who give no security for their honesty except their word. Separately considered, these remittances are small, but in the aggregate they amount every year to thousands of pounds; yet their embezzlement seldom happens. Attended by a native agent, it is usual for peasants to carry in bags the rent of estates to landholders, and to Government collectorates, and their failing to take it to its destination is a very uncommon event. It is the habitual practice of servants, clerks, and agents, to take discount on all the ordinary monetary transactions of their masters. If no more be taken than the usual rate, which is from three to six per cent., it is not considered to bear any affinity to fraud, but is claimed as a right, and paid as a tax which cannot be well avoided. It presents, however, powerful temptations to grasp at whatever it is possible to extort, and it sometimes happens that the salary of an office is deemed of less importance than the facilities to procure illicit gains. In this way the Government, and all persons engaged in trade and commerce, sustain great losses, being robbed by those who are paid to serve them.

The different lines of business present examples of integrity as well as instances of the want of it. There are native banks which have been in existence a hundred years, whose drafts are honoured in every part of the empire; Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay native merchants, whom rectitude of principle has made widely known, and who trade with nearly every portion of the globe. The commerce of a

country proves the existence of probity among its people, for were all unfaithful to their engagements, none would be trusted, and the degree of confidence reposed in them is indicated by the extent of their traffic. The value of the imports and exports of India during the financial year, ending on the 31st of March, 1872, was £107,319,500; and in the year 1881 it was £127,671,002. Considering, however, that the resources of the empire are almost boundless, is the trade as great as could reasonably be expected? Native merchants think it might be more than doubled, were it not for fraudulent breaches of contracts on which advances of money are taken.¹ So heavy, some years ago, were the losses sustained, that a petition was presented to the legislature to make non-fulfilment of business engagements a penal offence, and the legislature was disposed to do this; but, fearing such a law might possibly be used wrongfully against the poor, it hesitated a long time about it, and eventually framed a statute which orders redress to be sought by a civil process. This has not answered the end contemplated, for the evil it was designed to remedy still exists, and is as prevalent now as in 1862, when the Act was passed.

Aversion to toil is said to be characteristic of the Hindoos. Owing to the enervating influence of their climate, they have not the same degree of physical power, therefore cannot labour as long and hard as the inhabitants of the cold regions of Europe; and their wants being comparatively few and easily supplied, they have not equally strong incentives to diligence. There are, however, classes that show themselves capable of great exertion. Palanquin-bearers often work hard for a long continuous period. The usual way of travelling is to have relays of men on the line

¹ In confirmation of the truth of the above statement, reference may be made to the Report of Mr. Saunders, who in 1862 was commissioned by the Government of India to visit the cotton districts in the Doab.

of route about ten miles apart ; but it is frequently the case that twelve bearers, divided into sets of four to relieve each other at short intervals, carry a palanquin as many as twenty miles without putting it down to rest. Grooms exhibit much physical power, and all new-comers from Europe are astonished at the distances they run. When the master rides, the groom does not accompany him, as in England, on horseback, but on foot; yet whether the steed trot or canter, he manages to keep up with it. Many natives belonging to the sections of society engaged in trade and commerce are thorough business men; this is indicated by their gradual rise in position and fortune. Examples more or less numerous, of the "hand of the diligent making rich" are met with in every part of the country. Though generally rather lazy when paid by the day, field-labourers and artisans are sometimes very industrious when their earnings depend on the amount of work done. Domestic servants, especially those in the houses of Europeans, have great temptations to idleness, for the division of labour being carried out to an extent which is quite ridiculous, half-a-dozen men do little more than one might easily perform; yet now and then some of them, prompted by affection, will work almost beyond their strength. I have known Hindoos, and also Mohammedans, to be so much attached to their masters, as never to quit their bedside when sick, except to take their necessary food, and on some occasions not to leave even for that purpose. Long after the death of the master, I have seen affection cherished for his children, who were residing in a distant land, and when, from simulating affection, no pecuniary benefit could be derived. The number of such masters who are thus regarded is not great in any country, and that it is small in India may not be altogether the fault of the natives,—probably a portion of the blame lies on ourselves.

Like most people in the East, the Hindoos adopt both in conversation and writing a very complimentary style ; no one, however, is deceived by it, nor is any deception intended to be practised ; it is a custom which the etiquette of the country prescribes, and that has come to be considered a necessary part of courtesy. Their adulations are such as the following. The virtuous man is called a sea of excellent qualities ; the learned an ocean of knowledge ; the pious an incarnation of holiness ; the munificent is the "father and mother" of the recipients of his bounty ; the nourisher of multitudes, the benefactor of the three worlds. Those deviations from literal accuracy which take place in the ordinary affairs of every-day life are of a different nature, and for them no such extenuation can be found ; they are really designed to impose on the credulous, the ignorant and unwary, for the purpose of obtaining some personal advantage. To the observant foreigner who has long resided in the country, much improvement in the moral tone of society is perceptible ; still the want of veracity continues to be a common vice of all classes, though not of all individuals. Detection in the practice of it excites little shame in the culprit, and seldom lowers him in the estimation of his neighbours, or causes him to be shunned by his friends. Indeed the vice is so general that it creates neither astonishment nor indignation ; it is taken for granted that in all matters of interest it will be committed, and that even when truth is to be defended, the aid of falsehood will be called in to support it. As the nature of the Hindoos is the same as that of the rest of the members of the human family, this propensity to deceit must arise from other than natal causes, and probably we shall not be much mistaken if we ascribe it to their subjection during many centuries to a foreign yoke. The effects of conquest on the vanquished are a diminution of self-respect, and the creation of a cringing

spirit. If those who crushed them with the sword, confound the innocent with the guilty, punish trivial faults,—not according to the rules of justice, but as anger or caprice may dictate,—the victims of such ill-usage, for self-protection resort to deceit; succeeding in one instance, it is practised again, and in the course of time becomes habitual. Hence it is found that subdued races, whether actually enslaved or allowed a measure of freedom, and likewise children and servants who are harshly treated, are addicted to lying. No country, household, or family is notorious for this vice if there be not much which is wrong in the conduct of those at the head of it; for if the government be just, the master kind, and the parent affectionate, the temptation to take refuge in falsehood being removed, subjects, servants, and children will be disposed to speak the truth.¹ It must, however, be borne in mind that an ancient evil which has gathered strength with the progress of ages, seldom admits of being speedily eradicated, for habit, which has become second nature, is not abandoned at once either by individuals or nations; consequently, the vice produced under preceding tyrannical Governments is only gradually being relinquished under the clement rule of the British.

Perjury, which is falsehood of an aggravated form, is common, and perpetrated with little disgrace. Should it subject a wealthy person to imprisonment, on his release from jail he resumes his place in society, enters the associations of which he was a member, again takes a leading part in their proceedings, and finds his guilt to be no

¹ In confirmation of one part of this statement, I may here mention what Madame de Staal de Launay writes of her childhood:—"I had not," she says, "learnt to tell falsehoods; accustomed to find the avowal of my faults a sufficient excuse for them, I had no inducement to prevaricate. It is the harshness and constraint exercised towards children which force the greater number of them to become hypocrites and liars"—See her "Memoirs," p. 6.

barrier to his attaining a high social position. This is a grave statement, and living examples could be pointed out in confirmation of the truth of it. To what degree perjury impedes the administration of justice, secures impunity to crime, and demoralizes the nation, those who apply to the courts to redress their grievances learn by sad experience. To give the reader an insight into the mysteries of the courts, it may be needful to speak for a moment about the extraordinary functions of the Bar. It is, however, proper to remark that allusion is here made to lawyers who are passing away and being succeeded by a better race of men. The duties of the old native pleader are multiform and onerous: he writes his own brief, and often concocts the evidence by which it is to be supported, and, that the witnesses may not trip, hears them in private rehearse their tale till they are perfect in their respective parts. In trials of great importance, several days' schooling are found to be necessary. The witnesses may be neighbours of the suitor, possess a knowledge of the facts relating to the case in which they bear false testimony, or, as not unfrequently happens, be strangers, who for a trifling inducement, sometimes as small as threepence, make affidavits of every imaginable occurrence. Perjury is encouraged by the lax morality of the religious institutes of the people. Falsehood, in some cases, is allowed to be spoken, and pronounced preferable to truth. A giver of false evidence from a pious motive is assured he will not lose a seat in heaven, and in commendation of such evidence it is called the speech of the gods.¹

The state of the courts doubtless throws much light on native character; but it is rather, it may be said, on that of certain classes than on the character of the people at large, for probably not more than one person in a thousand

¹ Institutes of Monoo, viii. 103, 104, 105, 112.

ever enters the courts. If a foreigner, after carefully reading the records of our civil and criminal courts, were to draw from them the character of the English nation, every voice would cry out against it, and no language be deemed too strong in speaking of the author and his libellous production; and what would be wrong on the banks of the Thames cannot be right on the banks of the Ganges. To this it may be answered that people who never enter the courts are in some degree responsible for their proceedings, if the courts be a reflection of themselves, and that this is the case will appear from the manner in which perjury is regarded. Bearing false testimony in a suit to help a neighbour, is considered a necessary act of kindness which it would be ill-natured to refuse. A man does it from a disposition to oblige, with the persuasion that the person for whom the service is rendered will do as much for him should he ever go to law, and for such conduct he is rather praised than blamed. In the sacred writings, to which reference has been made, perjury is permitted, and in certain instances deemed worthy of commendation; but as these books are reputed to have been penned some thousands of years ago, the present generation, it may be urged, cannot be responsible for what they contain. This objection would be valid if the present generation had ceased to have faith in these records, but as it continues to revere them as a revelation from heaven, it must be held accountable for the doctrines promulgated. Moreover, the current literature of the day does not enforce a stricter code of morals, and this literature, it is admitted, gives expression to the opinions and sentiments which are prevalent in Hindoo society. A few years ago the real thoughts and feelings of the public on this important subject were fully revealed in a striking manner. A case of perjury and forgery occurred, attended with every circumstance that could aggravate the

criminal's guilt, which exhibited ingratitude, baseness, and hardness of heart, hardly ever surpassed. A very wealthy Hindoo of high caste, died, bequeathing a large amount of property to his brother, who, not content with the generous gift, forged a will in which he appropriated the rest of the estate, reducing his sister-in-law and nephew to beggary. The case was tried in Calcutta, and the rogue sentenced to transportation. A few of the native newspapers, to their honour be it spoken, approved of the sentence ; all the rest wrote with much violence against it, and grossly abused the judge, Sir Mordaunt Wells, who meted out justice to the widow and orphan. A petition, very numerously signed, bearing the names of many persons moving in the middle and upper ranks of society, was presented, praying for the acquittal of the culprit, or a mitigation of his punishment. Probably a similar petition for such a man could not be got up in any other country on the face of the earth, and the fair inference to be drawn is this, that in the estimation of those who signed it, perjury and forgery were not the awful crimes which they are considered to be in the rest of the civilized world. Persons who thus take a too lenient view of gross breaches of the law become in a measure responsible for the condition of the courts, though they seldom or never enter them, and improvement in the courts must be preceded by improvement in their own opinions on morals. When bribery, perjury, and forgery are considered a shame, and the author of the villainy is a marked man in society, and finds the door of every respectable house closed against him, then, no longer able to live on the wages of iniquity, he will seek for better employment, and, rid of his presence, the state of the courts will be much ameliorated.

The want, not of physical, but of moral courage, is characteristic of all sections of the people, though not of all

individuals. It is owing to the deterring influence of their religion, and not to any constitutional defect, for as they come out of the hands of the Creator, the hearts of all men are fashioned alike. This characteristic, however, is more developed—or rather, from its position and attainments, is more clearly seen—in one particular class than in any other. To the persons belonging to this class some injustice has been done, for they have all been represented as wholly devoted to Venus and Bacchus; yet, for anything which has been proved to the contrary, the majority of them may be sober and chaste. Speaking of them generally,—for there may be honourable exceptions, men who in character are nearly all that could be wished,—they may be said to be reformers, who know what is right and shrink from doing it. They are found in greater or less numbers, in most parts of India, but have a local designation; they are called Young Bengal. Over the native belonging to this portion of the community, and who has been educated through the medium of the English tongue, a change has passed. On him history, science, and literature have shed their lights. Possessing much facility in using our language, and not disposed to hide his talents, he is forward to speak or lecture on almost every subject within the compass of human knowledge. He may be heard discoursing on the magnitude, orbits, and revolutions of the heavenly bodies; on Bacon, Newton and Locke, Shakespeare and Milton; on natural, moral, and mental philosophy, political economy and the laws of health, the regeneration of his country, and the education and rightful position of women; but, if it be asked, What practical influence do his attainments exert on his own life, what direct bearing have they on his social and domestic habits? the true answer in many cases, it is to be feared, must be,—None whatever.

In a debate respecting the means to be employed to

uproot ancient prejudices, and ameliorate the condition of India by a sound reformation of morals, he will take a prominent part ; but if, after his brilliant speech, some one, who has the welfare of the country really at heart, rise and request him to aid in accomplishing the objects, the necessity of which he has so ably set forth, he gives no response to the call, shrinks from everything of a practical nature, and quietly withdraws. An essay on the re-marriage of widows, read at a public meeting, draws from his lips unmeasured applause ; but if invited, at the close of the assembly, to attend such a marriage which is about to be celebrated in his own neighbourhood, he has a thousand reasons for not being present, and may afterwards (this has actually happened) join the bigots who move heaven and earth to proscribe the united pair and all the wedding-guests. Though at the respective orders comprised in the institution of caste, proceeding from the mouth, arm, thigh, and foot of Brohma, he smile—as he would do at a traveller who should say he had beheld in foreign regions a tree which bore on its topmost, lowest, and intermediate boughs different fruit—yet, if a Brahmon, he still wears the sacerdotal thread, is proud of the distinction which it is supposed to confer, and avoids coming in contact with the Shoodra caste, lest he should be polluted by their touch. Notwithstanding his liberal opinions, and the humane sentiments to which he is constantly giving expression, the widows of his family, under the guise of religion, may be cruelly treated, subjected to numerous fasts and painful observances, and thus have their lives shortened by starvation and sorrow, that they may go to their husbands in the eternal world, and put their relations to no more trouble and expense in this. Of the attributes of the Deity and of his oneness in particular, he speaks when abroad with as much correctness as a learned divine ; but to keep on good terms

with his family, and avoid any inconvenience, trouble, or loss, to which acting according to his convictions may expose him, he dissembles at home; on festival days is perhaps the officiating priest, and offers the solemnities of worship to a piece of clay, wood, or stone. Though the possession of knowledge carry with it the obligation to instruct mankind, and especially those who are united to us by the closest bonds, he permits his relations to live and die in the darkness of idolatry, because the endeavour to enlighten them may injure his temporal affairs.

The orators belonging to Young Bengal have continued for forty years to speak on nearly every subject that can engage the attention of man, but where is the good which their eloquence has produced? What refuge for the blind, the lame, the leprous, the insane, the aged poor, and the destitute, have they built or endowed? Where are the dispensaries, the hospitals, the schools, and colleges they have founded? What honour have they shown to natives distinguished for learning and virtue? Where are the monuments they have reared to the memory of the illustrious dead? An obligation is by divine authority imposed on us both to know what is right and to have the courage to do it, and if not thus morally and intellectually fitted, we can never discharge the duties of the reformer or patriot, for to none but earnest men does Providence commit the work of ameliorating the condition of nations.

There are, however, educated Hindoo gentlemen that bear no affinity in spirit or character to Young Bengal, who strive to the utmost of their power to promote the welfare of their country, who give large pecuniary help and zealous labour to the carrying out of every measure which is likely to improve the moral or the material condition of the people.

Are the Hindoos loyal? To the mind of every one who

wishes for the continuance of our rule, this is a question which will naturally suggest itself. Besides differing from us in colour, religion, customs, and manners, they occupy the position of a conquered race. Among the nobility there may be individuals here and there who are not quite reconciled to our Government, because they have few opportunities for advancing themselves by filling, which they would do in an honourable manner, great offices of State, and others because they have few opportunities of oppressing those below them. But the classes that suffered much under previous dynasties,—the peasantry, who form the bulk of the nation, and tradesmen and merchants,—are, from self-interest, if from no better feeling, loyal. The late Sir Donald M'Leod, Lieutenant-Governor of the Ponjab, says: "I do not think that any one who really knows India will attempt to deny that the security, the freedom from violence and oppressions of every kind, the stability of established order, the encouragements to trade and progress, and the facilities for accumulation and utilisation of capital afforded under British rule, are infinitely preferred by the bulk of the people to the comparative lawlessness existing in the Native States by whom we are surrounded."¹ The *Hindoo Patriot*, a Calcutta paper, writes: "Our fortunes are bound up with those of England. However we may criticise particular measures of the British Government in India, or the attitude of particular officers of Government towards the people or the princes of India, the existence of British rule is the only security for peace, order, and progress in this country. We are aware that there is discontent among the people, but we believe we can say, without fear of contradiction, that even the most malcontent does not want a change of rule. We can tell our countrymen that under the rule of no other European Power are they destined to enjoy greater privileges

¹ "Memoir of Sir Donald M'Leod," by Major-General Lake, p. 123.

and advantages than what they now enjoy under the benign influence of the English nation. If there is any nation of Europe which has an innate love of justice and fair play, it is the English nation.”¹ The same journal, speaking of British charity, says: “The noble sympathy which England has recently shown to India, by raising within a short time thirty lacs of rupees in aid of the famine sufferers in the Madras Presidency, calls for the deepest gratitude from the people of India. We do not remember to have heard or read of such hearty and substantial sympathy shown by any other country to a foreign people in distress.”² The same sentiment regarding British rule is expressed by a Hindoo gentleman, in the following speech delivered at a public meeting in the city of Bombay: “I am sure that every sensible and well-informed man in this country is loyal. This country for many past centuries had no government deserving the name. There was neither internal peace nor security from foreign invasion. There was no power in India which could put a stop to the evil practices of sotee, infanticide, religious suicide, and human sacrifices. The whole nation presented a scene of stagnation and ignorance; but the case is now different. Under the auspices of a beneficent, civilised, and strong Government, we have become progressive. Light and knowledge are pouring in upon the country. Old prejudices and errors are vanishing. We therefore count it a great privilege to be loyal subjects of the Empress of India. There is now security of life and property as perfect as human institutions can make it. Those who are old enough are aware of the plundering excursions of the Pindarees, who, descending from the ghats, spread terror in the Concan. These professional robbers have been extirpated by the British Government. We enjoy liberty

¹ *Public Opinion*, Saturday, 30th December, 1876, p. 831.

² *The Christian World*, 14th December, 1877, p. 897.

of speech, of petition, and of the press. We enjoy the blessings of education, useful public works, internal peace, and freedom from foreign invasions."¹

Whatever irritation there may be arising from subjection to a foreign yoke, to remove it is not a hopeless task. There was a day when the hostility of the Scotch to their southern neighbours never slept, when statesmen, poets, and divines, poured forth their effusions to intensify the national hate. But now wrathful passions are hushed; the two peoples heartily coalesce and vie with each other in rendering faithful service to the throne. Wisdom, justice, and clemency in conducting public affairs produced the change, and they will have the same salutary tendency in India. What was done in Bengal in 1874, and in Madras and Bombay in 1877, to mitigate the horrors of famine, must have drawn out the best feelings of the people towards the Government. To give food to the famishing, it expended sixteen millions of pounds sterling.² It would be in vain to look for anything like this during the reign of native monarchs. Indeed, benevolence on so large a scale, and administered in such a kind and sympathetic spirit, was never witnessed before in any country or age.

¹ "India and her Neighbours," by W. P. Andrew, pp. 194, 195.

² Statement of Sir John Strachey, the Financial Minister, 27th December, 1877.

CHAPTER IX.

THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE.

MARRIAGE is an institution established among all people that have emerged from barbarism. The order, progress, and happiness of civilized life are greatly influenced by it—impeded or promoted; for, according to the estimation in which it is held, evil is brought forth, or whatever tends to adorn and elevate human society is preserved and strengthened. In nearly all nations, its laws, rites, and ceremonies vary, indicating how one country differs from another in its condition, religion, or morals.

The marriage laws of the Hindoos have been in force several thousand years, and continue to influence the condition and destinies of nearly a fifth part of the human race. In their nature and operation they are peculiar. To first and second cousins and to nieces, Hindoos cannot be allied, but may wed at the same time two or more girls who are sisters. It is their custom to intermarry in the same caste, but not in the same division of it. For instance, there are Kooleens distinguished by such titles as Banerjee, Mookherjee, Chatterjee, and Gangooly; but the daughter of a Banerjee cannot be contracted to a Banerjee, she must be affianced to a Brahmon of one of the other classes. And this applies to those who are Mookherjees, Chatterjees, or Gangoolies; their husbands must belong to a division of the

caste which is different from their own. Monoo says : "Let the twice-born man espouse a wife of the same class with himself, and endowed with the marks of excellence. She who is not descended from his paternal or maternal ancestors, within the sixth degree, and who is not known by her family name to be of the same primitive stock with his father or mother, is eligible to be chosen by a twice-born man for nuptials and holy union."¹

It is also the custom for marriage to take place in the order of birth, for elder sons and daughters to be married before their younger brothers and sisters, and deviation from it is an act for which an atonement is offered.² Therefore, except when under a very powerful inducement, a Hindoo father will not depart from it, and, if urged to do it, may say with Laban : "It must not be so done in our country, to give the younger before the first-born."³ Of native female beauty, some idea may be formed from the following description of Brohma's daughter : "This girl was of a yellow colour ; had a nose like the flower of the sesamum ; her legs were taper, like the plantain tree ; her eyes large, like the principal leaf of the lotus ; her eyebrows extended to her ears ; her lips were like the young leaves of the mango tree ; her face was like the full moon ; her voice like the sound of the cuckoo ; her arms reached to her knees ; her throat was like that of a pigeon ; her loins narrow, like those of a lion ; her hair hung in curls down to her feet ; her teeth were like the seeds of the pomegranate ; and her gait like that of a young elephant or a goose."⁴ Speaking of marriage, Monoo says : "Let the twice-born man choose for his wife a girl whose form has no defect, who has an agreeable name, who walks gracefully, like a young elephant ; whose hair and teeth are

¹ Monoo, iii. 4, 5.

² *Ibid.* xi. 61 ; iii. 170.

³ Genesis, xxix. 26.

⁴ Shivo Poorano.

moderate respectively in quantity and size ; whose body has exquisite softness.”¹ At the period this counsel was given, which may have been about nine hundred years before the birth of Christ, Hindoos had freedom of choice and married at an adult age. Now, the choosing of a wife is done by proxy, and not by the person specially interested in the matter. Not anything like courtship ever takes place. Marriages are celebrated in childhood. To give a daughter in marriage before the age of puberty is deemed a religious duty ; deferring it till she has attained her twelfth year and arrived at womanhood brings disgrace on the parents. “Reprehensible is the father who gives not his daughter in marriage at the proper time.”² What is the proper time? it may be asked. The answer is—She may become a bride, “even though she have not attained her age of eight years.”² A Brahmon may enter the state of marriage after being invested with the sacred thread, which ceremony can be performed in his eighth year, or two or three years later. Boys of the Shoodra class, not having to undergo this ceremony of investiture, as they are not privileged to wear the sacred cord, can marry a little earlier than the priestly order.

Men who devote themselves to a life of seclusion from the world, passing their time in the practice of austerities, and prayer, and contemplation, may remain in a state of celibacy ; but the option of continuing single is not allowed to any class of women—they are all destined to be married whenever husbands can be found for them ; so that aged spinsters, who are numerous in other lands, are quite unknown in India, and the native mind can hardly conceive the possibility of their existence. Formerly it seems to have been otherwise, for ancient books make mention of virgins consecrated to a solitary life who attained great celebrity.

Though two families, if they be well acquainted with

¹ Monoo, iii. 10.

² *Ibid.* ix. 4 ; 88.

each other, can settle everything about a marriage themselves, it is usual to employ professional persons that investigate genealogies and read horoscopes—who, on finding the pedigrees satisfactory and the stars propitious, communicate the pleasing intelligence.¹ Having received this information, the fathers enter into a formal agreement, which they reduce to writing, and ratify by mutual embraces and the reciting of sacred texts. If he be rich enough to afford it, the father of the girl distributes gifts among the persons assembled on the occasion. To those of priestly and military rank he presents money and cloth, and to those who belong to castes inferior to his own he offers sweetmeats. Though marriages take place at other times, there are three months in the year which are considered to be very fortunate for their celebration. The month of Agrohayon, containing part of November and part of December; the month of Magh, containing part of January and part of February; and the month of Phalagoon, containing part of February and part of March. The day which will be propitious is determined by the signs of the zodiac. After it is fixed, the fathers in their separate houses entertain their respective relations and friends, giving cooked provisions to the former and sweetmeats to the latter.² Before the guests begin to eat, aged men and women of respectability, from their caste and position in society, bless the young people and make them presents. There is also much feasting at the houses of relatives, where wedding-gifts are offered. Kindly-disposed neighbours, whose caste does not permit them to join the company and sit down at the meal, send presents.

On the morning of the day which precedes that of the

¹ Some families employ more than one ghotak or match-maker.

² With persons who belong to castes inferior to their own, Hindoos cannot take cooked provisions, or the ordinary meal.

marriage, the betrothed are both anointed with turmeric. This is done by women, numbering not less than three or more than nine, whose husbands are still living. A widow is not allowed to take any part in nuptial ceremonies, nor even to witness their performance. It is believed her presence would darken the prospects of wedded life, and cause great calamity. In the evening—not together, but in their respective homes—the young people, with their eyes bandaged, are led to the instrument¹ used for the husking of rice, where, amid loud rejoicings, a quantity of grain is poured on their heads, expressive of earnest wishes for their future welfare.

On the day of the marriage, till the ceremonies are ended, the bridegroom and the bride, and their parents, are commanded to fast,—or, rather, to abstain from taking rice, their ordinary food, for water, milk and fruit they are allowed to take. On this, as on other festive occasions, respect and reverence are paid to the dead; accompanied with acts of worship and recitations of sacred texts, the funeral-cake is offered in the marriage-bower to the manes of ancestors by the officiating priest. The bower, a temporary structure, composed of the trunks of the plantain tree and the leaves of the mango, and covered with a cotton cloth awning, is erected in the courtyard.² In the evening, married women, as before, not less than three or more than nine, conduct the bridegroom into the bower, and among other ceremonies, a thread, which is taken off by the bride some days after the marriage, is wound four times round his right arm, and tied with blades of sacrificial grass.³ Shaved,

¹ Dhenkee.

² A bower of the same kind is erected in the courtyard of the house of the father of the girl, where similar ceremonies take place.

³ Koosho ghas, *poa cynosuroides*, a species of grass held in high estimation among the Hindoos, and much used in the services of the temple, in the offering of sacrifices. A similar ceremony takes place in

bathed, and dressed for the wedding, and having held a short dialogue with his mother concerning the object of his journey, with her permission he sets out at night in a palanquin for the house of the bride. Relations and friends, a company of musicians playing on nearly every kind of instrument, numerous persons carrying lamps or torches, and a crowd of the populace ever increasing as it passes along, form the marriage procession. On arriving he is welcomed with loud expressions of joy, and conducted into the bower, like the one already described, where while standing and repeating sacred texts after his father-in-law, seven Brahmons with lighted lamps in their hands go round him seven times. After this the bride is brought in, seated on a wooden stool, when they go round her with the lamps the same number of times. The father of the bride, having mentioned the name, titles and ancestors of the bridegroom, declares him to be worthy of his daughter. The hands of the bridegroom and the bride are joined,¹ and placed over a vessel of water, and the corner of her dress being fastened to his garments, the bridegroom repeats many sacred texts and promises to be affectionate to the bride. The Tali, one or more jewels strung on a twisted thread, and the sign of the married state in India, as the finger-ring is in Europe, he ties on her neck.² After this they are both brought into

the bower at the house of the father of the girl, but the thread is wound round her left arm.

¹ The ceremony of joining hands is appointed for those who marry women of their own class, but with women of a different class the following nuptial ceremonies are to be observed :—

“ By the Kshotriya on her marriage with a Brahmon, an arrow must be held in her hand ; by a Voisya woman with a bridegroom of the sacerdotal or military class, a whip ; and by a Shoodra bride, marrying a priest, a soldier, or a merchant, must be held the skirt of a mantle.”—Monoo, iii. 43, 44.

² Another indication of the conjugal state is the mark on the forehead, which married women make with vermillion as long as their

a room called Basorghor, the name given to the apartment in which married persons spend the night after their marriage. There they sit up the whole night, and the bridegroom holds conversations with the women of the family.

In the morning at eight o'clock the bridegroom conducts the bride to his home. They are seated in a litter which is borne on the shoulders of men, and accompanied by a numerous train. On arriving, relations, friends, and neighbours embrace them, take them into their laps, and appear almost frantic with joy. At night they sleep on a bed ornamented with flowers.¹ At the feast² on the morrow the bride performs a ceremony which is deemed of much importance; she deals out rice to the assembled guests. The bride and bridegroom unite in presenting oblations, composed of rice and clarified butter, to Ogni, the god of fire. On the next day the father of the girl takes them to his house.³ On the eighth day from the wedding the boy returns, but the girl continues to live with her parents till old enough to sustain the position of a wife, when feasting and religious solemnities again take place, and she is conducted, amid great rejoicings, to her new home—her father-in-law's house.

husbands are alive; when they become widows they discontinue to do it. They also cease to wear the Tali.

¹ Called Phoolshojya,—*phool*, flower; *shojya*, bed,—a bed of flowers; the bed on which a newly-married couple sleeps the second night after marriage.

² Called Bobhat,—*bo*, a wife; *bhat*, boiled rice,—a feast given the day after a newly-married girl arrives at her husband's house.

³ Such journeys are made if the families do not reside at too great a distance from each other, and are rich enough to bear the expense. However, the latter consideration does not weigh much with them. On the occasion of marriages all classes of Hindoos exhibit the same spirit of ostentation in the expenditure of money; many run into debt, and embarrass themselves for life.

Hindoo legislators mention eight forms of marriage,¹ but that just described is the one now commonly used.

A widower, or a man who has lost one of his wives, may take another when the time of mourning for the dead is over; the period is determined by the caste of the individual, and varies from ten days to a month.² In such case he may choose his wife, but rather than do so he generally leaves the business to be managed by the professional match-maker.

Polygamy is allowed by the law, but only for the following causes: "A barren wife may be superseded by another in the eighth year; she whose children are all dead, in the tenth; she who brings forth only daughters, in the eleventh; she who speaks unkindly, without delay.

"But she who, though afflicted with illness, is beloved and virtuous, must never be disgraced, though she may be superseded by another wife with her own consent."³

However, irrespective of these reasons, a Hindoo can take a plurality of wives, and not lower himself in the good opinion of his neighbours, for in their minds the idea of impropriety is not associated with it; it may raise among them a question of economy, but not one of morals. Still, the number of polygamists is small. Generally speaking, the circumstances of the poor place the cost of polygamy beyond their means, and of the rich who can afford the expense of it, very few have more than one wife.

"A widow," it is said, "slights her deceased husband by marrying again, brings disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord."⁴ But though thus threatened with dishonour in this world, and the deprivation of happiness in the next, such weddings now and then take place. The form is very simple. In the presence of

¹ Monoo, iii. 20-34.

² *Ibid.* v. 83.

³ *Ibid.* ix. 81, 82.

⁴ *Ibid.* v. 161.

common friends, the man and woman declare themselves husband and wife, by putting on the neck of each other a garland of flowers.

Though most marriages are brought about without any but ordinary difficulties, some cause parents much trouble and anxiety. Were all the Kooleens pure, they would not have any difficulty in marrying their daughters, but, unfortunately, about half of them have family blemishes. If there be a stain on the pedigree of the family, one of unblemished reputation will be reluctant to enter into a close relationship with it; and, before doing so, may require to be paid a large sum of money, and if this cannot be raised at the time, the marriage is necessarily postponed. The negotiations may be broken off altogether, and fresh ones have to be entered on with other parties. A Brahmon whose descent is blurred may remove the blot by giving his daughter in marriage to a pure Kooleen, and he himself espousing a daughter of that Kooleen,—not his own grandchild, but a daughter of another wife not related to him.

The marriage of Kooleen girls has sometimes been facilitated in this way: A married Kooleen of the Mookherjee class having three daughters, and not able to meet the expense attending their wedding ceremonies, and a married Kooleen of the Banerjee class being similarly circumstanced, the Mookherjee has married all his daughters to the Banerjee, and the Banerjee all his daughters to the Mookherjee. Hindoos of other castes, if thus situated and so inclined, can get over marriage difficulties in the same manner.

A daughter of a Brahmon for whom a husband of suitable rank cannot be obtained, as a last resource, may be married to a Kooleen who makes a merchandise of marriage,—who has many wives, but supports none of them; leaves all of them at their homes, and, on paying visits to his numerous fathers-in-law, is hospitably entertained and amply rewarded. It

is, however, a matter of justice to state that the Kooleens who live such scandalous lives form but a small number ; the rest of the caste are as correct in their moral deportment and family relations as other portions of the community. One I knew many years who, as a man and a father, was nearly all that could be wished. He had nine daughters, and that they might never experience the misery and wretchedness polygamy invariably brings into a household, resolved they should never be united to men who were already married. To accomplish his purpose, he made choice of husbands for them in families of unsullied caste, but who were comparatively poor, and to whom a rise in life for their sons would be an object to be coveted. He took them home and brought them up as his own children. In gifts to their relations and friends, to the officiating Brahmons, and to the poor, he was more than usually generous. The last time I saw him he told me, with a smile, that he had just returned from his native place, where he had obtained two more husbands. They were fine-looking lads, were maintained with the rest, and sent to school. Then only one of his sons-in-law had entered on the duties of life, and was earning his living ; he was an officer in the police force.

To take away the reproach of being unmarried, a number of girls have gone through the forms of matrimony with an aged Kooleen Brahmon, who was dying, and who breathed his last almost as soon as the ceremonies were ended.

In some parts of the Presidency of Madras, a system of marriage is established widely different from that which has been noticed. On the coast of Malabar, among the Nairs, the women have a plurality of husbands. The Nair girl, like others, is married before she is ten years old, but when arrived at adult age, does not go to live in the house of her husband. She remains at home with her mother, and is there allowed to cohabit with any person she chooses who is

of equal or higher rank than her own. After the death of her mother, she resides with her brothers, and continues to exercise the same freedom. Hence great doubt is thrown on the paternity of sons, and, being consequently set aside, nephews and nieces, the offspring of sisters, take their place as inheritors of property. It is sometimes the case, that several brothers who are living together, being unable or unwilling to support a wife for each, take one for all, and successively, in the order of seniority, assume the fatherhood of the children that are born. Sir Erskine Perry says that among the Tudas on the Neelguries, and among the Kandyan in the island of Ceylon, the women have a plurality of husbands.¹

In no country is marriage considered of greater importance than in India, and in no country is it made a source of greater amusement. Among the numerous marriage processions that enlivened the streets of Dacca in the month of March, in the year 1873, the most remarkable was one in honour of the nuptials of two dolls belonging to the daughters of wealthy Hindoo citizens. The sight of this wedding much diverted the populace, because the pomp, the music, and the rejoicings, the careful performance of the rites and ceremonies, the feast provided for the guests, Brahmons, kinsmen, and friends, and the benefactions to the poor, made it a perfect representation of a real marriage; for to please the juvenile mothers, their indulgent parents spared no expense.²

¹ "Bird's-eye View of India," pp. 83, 84.

² *The Bengal Times.*

CHAPTER X.

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES.

DYING at home is considered a calamity and something like a disgrace ; therefore, when restoration to health has become hopeless, the sick ask to be taken to the Ganges. Wrapped in a new piece of white cotton cloth, and a sheet of the same material thrown over them, they are carried in a litter, a frame of bamboos with a network bottom, or on an ordinary bedstead, which is slung with ropes to a long pole, and borne by two or four men.¹ Laid within view of the sacred stream, they prepare to die ; or rather prepare to finish a distinct period of perpetual existence, for the spirit on quitting the body enters, it is believed, in the twinkling of an eye, another material form, and thus passes through a never-ending series of transmigrations ; complete absorption in the Deity, which is considered to be the highest state of bliss, is the hope of only a few.

Falling dews, dense fogs, benumbing cold, and scorching heat, to which they are more or less exposed, tend to accelerate the progress of the disease, and hasten the termination of life. Many breathe their last in the course of a few hours, some linger for days ; but whether the

¹ Those who die at home—and many do, notwithstanding the sorrow with which it may oppress them—are borne to the river just in the same way as those who expire on its banks.

period of suffering be long or short, attendant relatives do all which affectionate sympathy prompts—neglectful and unkind behaviour to the dying is a very rare occurrence. Yet tales have been told, crowded with scenes of awful cruelty, which would prove the Hindoos to be destitute of the ordinary feelings of humanity, and to be less tender-hearted to each other than the beasts that prowl in their forests. I am, however, disposed to think that few of these tales can be founded on facts; and this opinion I entertain, not after a flying visit to the country, but after a residence on the banks of the Ganges of more than thirty years.

The fitting position for Hindoos to take on the eve of the departure of the soul, is lying on the bank of the sacred stream with the water covering them to the waist.

The funeral pile is made of dry wood, the ordinary fuel used in cooking, with which, for its fragrance, sandal wood is sometimes mixed by those who are rich enough to afford it. Shaved, bathed, anointed, and clothed, the corpse is laid on the pyre at full length, with the head in the direction of the north. Appropriate texts¹ from the sacred books are repeated by the officiating priest. The eldest son, or in the event of there being no son, the nearest kinsman, having walked round the deceased three times, puts a lighted brand to his mouth, and then kindles the pyre. After the cremation is over, all persons who formed part of the funeral procession bathe to wash away the impurity contracted by attending on the dead; and then go to the door of the house of the deceased, where they touch fire and chew the bitter leaves of the neem² tree.

Till all the ceremonies are over, the eldest son fasts, or rather lives on a low and spare diet, takes simple and unseasoned food, a small quantity of rice and vegetable curry without salt; but other relations adopt this diet only

¹ Monoo, iii. 232.

² *Azadirachta Indica*.

three days. After three days the eldest son goes to the river, and, his face being turned to the south,¹ presents to the manes of the deceased, to quench his thirst and appease his hunger, the sacrament² of water, and of oblations, in the shape of balls, composed of rice, sesamum seed, honey, barley, and clarified butter.

Sometimes a large earthen vessel, full of water, with a small hole in the bottom, through which the water drips, and a lighted lamp, are suspended to a branch of the peepul tree.³ The water is to quench the thirst of the departed, and the lamp to show him where the water is.

The prescribed period of mourning continues during the period of ceremonial uncleanness, which in all castes is not the same. "A man of the sacerdotal class becomes pure in ten days; of the warlike, in twelve; of the commercial, in fifteen; of the servile, in a month."⁴ The period of bewailing the dead being over, the bereaved kinsmen have their heads shaved, bathe, change their coarse mourning dress for their usual apparel, and resume their ordinary place in society.

On the eleventh⁵ day after the cremation, the Brahmon who officiated at the funeral, and probably others with him, visit the house of the deceased, and receive presents, which are more or less valuable, according to the means and generous disposition of the chief mourner. They are generally such as the following: Sweetmeats, fruit, and grain of various kinds; earthen and metallic vessels; rupees and gold mohors;⁶

¹ Monoo, iii. 215.

² *Ibid.* iii. 70, 215, 216.

³ *Ficus religiosa*. A tree venerated and worshipped by the Hindoos, being sacred to the god Vishnoo, who is believed to have been born among its branches; it is often planted by the road-side in India, where it is much appreciated by the people for the sake of the ample shade it affords them.

⁴ Monoo, v. 83.

⁵ Ekadosh.

⁶ An Indian coin of the value of sixteen rupees.

shawls, clothes, shoes, and umbrellas; cows and goats; and, on rare occasions, lands, costly palanquins, horses, and elephants.

On the same day an act is performed which is considered of great merit, and very efficacious in promoting the welfare of the deceased. A bull is consecrated to Shivo. He is adorned with garlands of flowers, and the figure of the trident. The emblem of Shivo is branded on his right flank with a red-hot iron. When the religious ceremonies are finished he is let loose, never again to be tied up. The wide world is henceforth to be his pasture. He is left to wander wherever he lists, and may be frequently seen in the bazaars, where he takes the liberty of eating from the stalls. Some of the shopkeepers have too much reverence for his sacred character to prevent his doing this; but others, allowing solicitude about the preservation of their stores to get the better of their piety, drive him away with sticks. Some years ago these bulls had become so numerous as to endanger the lives of people; therefore, complaints were made to the Government, and in consequence a law was enacted that they should be no longer sent adrift, and whoever had them consecrated should be made responsible for their maintenance; but it has not been hitherto strictly enforced.

On the thirteenth day after the cremation, on the anniversary of the deceased, and every month on the dark day of the moon,¹ the sacrament of water and of oblations, before described, is presented by the eldest son to the manes of near and remote paternal ancestors, including as many as fourteen generations.²

The value of offerings is estimated by the period they

¹ Monoo, iii. 122, 278.

² When speaking on the subject themselves, the Hindoos generally use the words "chouddho pooroosh"—*chouddho*, fourteen; *pooroosh*, a male, a man, a generation.

continue to please the dead. "With rice, barley, black lentils or vetches, water, roots, and fruit, given with prescribed ceremonies, they are satisfied a whole month. Two months, with fish; three months, with venison; four, with mutton; five, with the flesh of such birds as the twice-born maylat; six months, with the flesh of kids; seven, with that of the spotted deer; eight, with that of the antelope; . . . ten months are they satisfied with the flesh of wild boars and wild buffaloes; eleven, with that of rabbits or hares, and of tortoises; a whole year, with the milk of cows and food made of that milk. From the flesh of the long-eared white goat their satisfaction endures twelve years. The flesh of a rhinoceros, or of an iron-coloured kid, honey, and all such forest grains as are eaten by hermits, are formed for their satisfaction without end. Indeed, whatever a man endued with strong faith piously offers, as the law has directed, becomes a perpetual imperishable gratification to his ancestors in the other world."¹

Sometimes numerous small lamps are lit in honour of the dead, and present to the view a very pleasing sight. Each lamp consists of a large leaf formed into the shape of a boat, filled with clarified butter, and a wick placed in the middle of it. With certain invocations it is lighted and sent adrift on the waters. If it continue to burn till the clarified butter be exhausted, or till the stream bear the frail bark out of sight, much pleasure is afforded to the spirit of the departed; but if soon extinguished, it is attributed to a defective performance of the ceremonies, and no gratification arises from it.

At the time of paying respect to the dead, it not unfrequently happens that very large gifts are bestowed on the living. A gentleman of the city of Dacca, on the occasion of performing the obsequies of his father, distributed

¹ Monoo, iii. 266-275.

in charities to the poor, and in presents to Brahmons, £15,000.¹ At the funeral of the Prince of Joudpore,² Moharaja Takhet Singh, who died on the 13th of February, 1873, two elephants were laden with gold and silver coins, amounting to £12,500, which at every hundred paces were scattered among the spectators as the procession slowly moved to the place of burning. Five thousand Brahmons dined at the palace several days, and received presents in money.³

Overwhelming grief disposes families to expend very large sums on funeral solemnities, and those who are not rich bring themselves into pecuniary difficulties; while the working classes contract debts which require many years to pay, and often form all the legacy they bequeath to their children. Not only in India, however, but even in Christian lands, advantage is taken of the affection which the bereaved cherish for the dead; hence, for the performance of burial services, for permission to erect memorials over the graves of kinsmen, and for the celebration of masses to liberate souls from purgatory, probably three or four millions of pounds sterling are annually paid to the clergy of the several portions of the Church.

In addition to the rites performed at home, on the banks of the Ganges, some persons visit Gaya, and there present oblations to their ancestors and fees to the Brahmons. Gaya is famed as the place where Vishnoo conquered the giant that had subjugated the three worlds; he smote him with his club,⁴ and pressed him with his foot down to hell.

¹ *The Dacca Times*, 9th February, 1869.

² Joudpore is the name of both the principality and the capital. It is situated about 320 miles S.W. from Delhi, in lat. 26° 18' N., long. 73° 49' E.

³ A Letter written by a native gentleman of Joudpore, dated 21st February, 1873, and published in *The Times*.

⁴ One of the titles of Vishnoo is "Godadhor," the club-holder.

On account of this victory a space of several square miles is holy ground, and seven thousand families were supported by the revenues of the temples.

Others go and do honour to the dead at Benares, the sacred city, filled with devotees, temples, and shrines, and not less revered by the Hindoos than Jerusalem was by the Christian warriors who fought for its deliverance from the Turks. Some proceed on pilgrimage to Allahabad, reputed to be one of the most holy of places, because there, it is believed, three rivers meet,—the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Soroswotee; the last is not now visible, but the natives say it unites with the other two under ground, and that, consequently, the same religious merit is acquired by bathing there, at the junction of the streams, as would be obtained by bathing in them separately. Sitting down on the brink of the river, so that each hair may fall into the water, the pilgrim has his head shaved, being encouraged to hope that for every hair thus deposited his residence in heaven will be prolonged one million of years.¹ After being shaved, he performs his ablutions, and then presents the accustomed offerings to the manes of his ancestors.

Many of the poor burn their dead without any ceremony performed by priests, and some who are too indigent to purchase fuel to make a pyre, throw them into the river. Persons that die of the small-pox or of the cholera are thrown into the river. Entirely naked, and in every stage of decomposition, polluting the water and poisoning the air, they float down the stream, come in contact with boats and

¹ This, it will be perceived, does not agree with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which has been pointed out as a part of the Hindoo creed. Error is seldom consistent, it is generally contradictory, and few systems of superstition are as self-refuting as Hindooism; it resembles a false witness afflicted with a bad memory, who, while under examination, by tripping and floundering, furnishes irrefragable evidence of his being unworthy of belief.

ships, or lie in shallows near the banks, where dogs, jackals,¹ adjutants,² vultures, and crows devour them.

Hindoos who live too far from the Ganges, or any other sacred river, to carry the corpse of a kinsman to its banks, burn it at the place set apart for the purpose, and such a place there is in or near every town in India. Some keep a few bones till they have an opportunity of taking or sending them to be deposited in the river. Others put a small bone in an earthen vessel, in which they plant the toolsee,³ a shrub held in religious veneration, over whose growth they watch with tender care, and visit it every morning and evening.

Deceased young children are now either thrown into the river or buried; but this appears to be a deviation from ancient custom, for the laws of Monoo speak only of interment, and give these particular instructions concerning it: "A dead child under the age of two years, let his kinsmen carry out, having decked him with flowers, and bury him in pure ground, without collecting his bones at a future time. Let no ceremony with fire be performed for him, nor that of sprinkling water; but his kindred having left him like a piece of wood in the forest, shall be unclean for three days. For a child under the age of three years, the ceremony with water shall not be performed by his kindred; but, if his teeth be completely grown, or a name have been given him, they may perform it or not, at their option."⁴

The Boiragees,⁵ an order of religious mendicants who are votaries of Vishnoo, inter their dead. With the name of

¹ *Canis aureus*.

² The gigantic crane—*leptoptilos argola*.

³ Holy basil—*ocimum sanctum*.

⁴ Monoo, v. 68, 69, 70.

⁵ Boiragee is a compound of *boi*, without, and *rag*, anger; and means one who is free from attachments or passions, an ascetic.

Krishno¹ written on several parts of the body, a string of toolsee² beads round the neck, and leaves of the same sacred plant scattered over him, the deceased is placed in the grave in a sitting posture, and honoured with a solemn service consisting of hymns and prayers.

¹ Krishno is the younger brother of Boloram, the Indian Hercules, and the eighth incarnation of Vishnoo. Those who insert the name of Krishno in the list of the ten incarnations, put him in the place of Boloram.

² The holy Basil—*ocimum sanctum*.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA.

IN stature and features the women of India resemble their sisters in Britain, but differ from them in colour. Their complexion is bronze, varying from light to dark in individuals, families, and provinces. Their eyes are always black. Their hair, which is of the same colour, is straight, glossy, and luxuriant, arranged in a large knot at the back of the head, at the top, or on the side over the right or left ear, and is sometimes decorated with flowers and jewels. Their costume has continued unchanged more than two thousand years. The saree, an entire piece of cloth, white or coloured, about five yards in length, and one in breadth, generally made of cotton, forms the whole of their dress, and is worn just as it comes out of the loom, without being touched with the needle, needing no hooks, pins, buttons, or strings to fasten it. It is fine or coarse according to the condition of the weaver, and can be so arranged as to cover all the body. One end, wrapped several times round the person from the waist to the feet, serves as a petticoat, and the other, passed over the head and shoulders, and hanging down on one side, covers the upper part of the body, and answers also the purpose of a hood, which can be so drawn as to hide the whole of the face, or leave more or less of it visible. This is the usual

style of dress, but the very poor may be seen going about almost naked, with no other covering than a narrow piece of cloth round their loins. In Bengal, and in most parts of India, such scanty raiment is an indication of poverty, and nothing more; but in the native kingdom of Travancore, situated in the Presidency of Madras, it was a mark of social degradation, and till very recently, enforced by law, a class of the inhabitants was doomed to appear in a state of more than semi-nudity. The dress prescribed for the Shànars, for women as well as men, consisted of two slips of coarse cloth, one fastened round the loins and the other round the head. This prohibitory law was abolished in the year 1865, through the interposition of the British Government. In some parts of India a few women, and nearly all those in the service of European ladies, wear a wide petticoat, or wide trousers tight at the ankle, a jacket that comes a little below the waist and has narrow sleeves which reach about half-way from the shoulder to the elbow, and over these a long loose robe; but such garments, it is highly probable, formed no portion of the national costume in ancient times, and may have been adopted in imitation of the Mohammedan female dress. That they are of foreign import is apparent from the following facts: In places remote from great towns, which contain few or no persons not Hindoos, they are seldom or never seen; and when the Hindoos lived under their own kings they were quite unknown, for in the minute description which the Greeks give of the dress of the people no allusion whatever is made to them. Only a few persons wear stockings; and shoes, which are not in common use, generally terminate in a long peak curled inwards over the toes, and are open or turned down at the heel, making it easy to doff them at the door before entering a house—a rule which etiquette enjoins, and that persons of all ranks and conditions strictly observe.

Those worn by the rich are sometimes of different colours,—red, green, and yellow,—and embroidered with silver and gold.

Great simplicity of dress co-exists with great fondness for jewels. Hindoo women wear anklets, bracelets, rings in the ears, on the fingers and toes, an ornament on the brow, a chain round the waist, a necklace, and a jewel in the left nostril measuring from two to four inches in diameter. This is the usual size, but sometimes nose-jewels are much larger. The Hon. Miss Emily Eden, the sister of Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, while in the Punjab, in December, 1838, paid a visit to the Ranees of the Moharaja, Ronjeet Singh, and in speaking of their ornaments, says: "Their nose-jewels conceal all the lower part of the face, and hang down almost to the waist. First, a crescent of diamonds comes from the nose, and to that is hung a string of pearls, and tassels of pearls, and rings of pearls with emerald drops. I cannot imagine how they can bear the weight; and their ear-rings are just the same."¹ Speaking of two married girls, respectively fifteen and eleven years of age, nieces of a rajah in the Presidency of Madras, whose palace she visited, Lady Denison says: "They have jewels in their noses, and such enormous ear-rings that they quite drag the ears down, and make large holes in them; broad, heavy gold necklaces and anklets, and each one ring on their second toe."² Anklets being sometimes worn one over another, or set with a fringe of small round bells, make a tinkling noise, which may throw light on that portion of the Scriptures where the prophet speaks of the daughters of Zion "mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet."³ The tali, a small ornament of gold

¹ "Up the Country," vol. ii. p. 30.

² "Varieties of Vice-Regal Life," by Sir William Denison, vol. ii. pp. 212, 213.

³ Isaiah iii. 16.

strung on a twisted thread, the bridegroom ties on the neck of the bride during the nuptial ceremony ; it is the symbol of her marriage, and is taken off when she becomes a widow. The anklets and waist-chain are of silver, the other ornaments are of gold, silver, or brass, according to the condition of the wearer ; some bracelets are made of glass, and others of lac, a resinous substance, the produce of an insect¹ which is found on several trees.² Not unfrequently ornaments are made to answer two ends, adorning the person and forming an investment to meet the future wants of the family. Those who refuse to put out at interest the money which they have saved, fearing lest they should lose it, and apprehensive it would be wasted in needless expense should they keep it by them, purchase jewels, which they sell when necessity becomes urgent, and the proceeds help them to subsist till their circumstances are improved.

The women of India, like those of other countries in the East, make use of art to enhance their beauty. With a small wooden instrument, about the thickness of a quill, dipped in soorma³-powder and applied to the inside of the eyelids, a jetty streak is formed which gives to the organs of vision an appearance of increased brilliancy. But the material mostly used is lamp-black ; with this a line is drawn along the border of the eyelashes, which relieves the white of the eyes and adds to their lustre. They stain their feet and the tips of their fingers red ; this is generally done with atta, raw cotton spread out into round leaves and impregnated with lac ; but Mohammedan, and also some Hindoo women, use the triturated leaf of the heuna plant mixed with water. Their teeth are occasionally black, the

¹ *Coccus lacca*.

² The Dhak—*butea pondersa* ; the Peepul—*figus religiosa* ; the Banyan—*figus Indica* ; the Kool—*zizyphus jujuba*..

³ *Soorma*—collyrium, antimony.

colour of the dentifrice which they apply to them. Their lips and tongue are sometimes a bright red, owing to their habit of chewing the betel-leaf with shell-lime and the nut of the areca palm.

The choosing of names for women is considered of much importance, and particular instructions are given concerning it; and on being married, they do not take the family name of their husbands. "The names of women," it is said, "should be agreeable, soft, clear, captivating the fancy, auspicious, ending in long vowels, resembling words of benediction."¹ They are usually the names of goddesses, trees, and flowers, and words indicative of excellence or endearment. Now and then names are met with which are expressive of loss, poverty, or sorrow. They may be thus accounted for. Sometimes the death of children, especially when in the family several have already sickened and died, is attributed to the mysterious influence of envious persons, and believing their attention was attracted by the pleasant names the children bore, the bereaved parents give to the children with which they are afterwards blessed, names which they hope will avert the evil-eye. The following list contains a few of these different kinds of names, and an explanation of them :—

NAMES.	EXPLANATION.
Doorga, . . .	A goddess, the consort of Shivo.
Kalee, . . .	The black goddess, the consort of Shivo.
Lokshmee, . . .	The goddess of fortune, the consort of Vishnoo.
Soroswotee, . . .	The goddess of learning, the consort of Brohma.
Gonga, . . .	The goddess Gonga, the river Ganges.

¹ Institutes of Monoo, ii. 33.

NAMES.	EXPLANATION.
Radha, . . .	The celebrated mistress of the god Krishno. In the numerous temples dedicated to his service, her image is always set up with his own, and worshipped.
Vishnoo-priyo, . . .	The beloved of Vishnoo.
Mookta, . . .	A pearl.
Rajkoomaree, . . .	Princess.
Dasee, . . .	A slave-girl, maid-servant.
Kanti, . . .	Beauty, splendour, light, brilliancy, a beautiful woman.
Keerti, . . .	Fame, renown.
Tooshti, . . .	Pleasure, enjoyment.
Onoogroho, . . .	Grace, favour, kindness.
Koroona, . . .	Compassion, clemency.
Shanti, . . .	Tranquillity, rest, peace.
Preeti, . . .	Love, affection.
Prem, . . .	Love, affection.
Khyoma, . . .	Forbearance, patience, pardon, the earth.
Kashee, . . .	The sacred city of Benares.
Modhoo, ¹ . . .	Honey.
Sokhi, . . .	A female friend, a companion.
Sookhadinee, . . .	Joyous day.
Doya, . . .	Pity, compassion, mercy.
Ruposee, . . .	Elegant, beautiful, comely.
Anondee, . . .	Joyful, glad.
Soosheela, . . .	Well-disposed, good-natured.
Priyo, . . .	Dear, beloved.
Soondoree, . . .	Handsome, beautiful.
Sookhee, . . .	Happy.
Bidhoomookhee, . . .	Moon-faced.

¹ Modhoo is a name given to men as well as to women.

NAMES.	EXPLANATION.
Soolochona, . . .	Having fine eyes.
Mrigonoynee, . . .	Fawn-eyed.
Pooshpomoyee, . . .	Full of flowers, flowery.
Golabee, . . .	Rosy, rose-scented, made of roses.
Lota, . . .	A creeper, a climbing-plant.
Podmo, . . .	The lotus, or water-lily.
Podminee, . . .	An assemblage of water-lilies, a woman with every personal attraction.
Soodha-mookhee, . . .	She whose mouth is imbued with nectar.
Soorjomookhee, . . .	The sun-flower.
Chompoko, . . .	A tree with very fragrant flowers of a rich orange colour.
Lovongo-lota, . . .	The lovongo climbing-plant.
Mollika, . . .	A beautiful flowering-shrub.
Parijat, . . .	The coral-tree of the Hindoo paradise, fabled to have been produced at the churning of the sea.
Mookta Kishee, . . .	Pearly locks.
Neelmoni, . . .	A sapphire.
Tarasoondoree, . . .	A beautiful star, a handsome woman.
Rohinee, . . .	The name of the fourth mansion in the Hindoo zodiac.
Dookhee, . . .	Afflicted, poor, distressed, wretched, miserable.

Hindoo women soon lose the vigour and freshness of youth, owing in some measure to the climate, but chiefly perhaps to their entering into the married state when very young ; it is no uncommon thing for them to be mothers at fourteen, and grandmothers at thirty. Respecting the treatment which they should receive, the law is contra-

dictory. In one part it enjoins that much consideration and great kindness should be shown them. "Married women," it is said, must be honoured and adorned by their husbands, if they seek abundant prosperity. Where females are honoured, there the deities are pleased; but where they are dishonoured, there all religious acts become fruitless. Where female relations are made miserable, the family of him who makes them so, very soon wholly perishes; but where they are not unhappy, the family always increases. Let women, therefore, be continually supplied with ornaments, apparel and food, at festivals and at jubilees, by men desirous of wealth."¹ In other parts the law thus speaks of them contemptuously as evil-minded creatures in whom no confidence can be placed: "It is the nature of women to cause the seduction of men, to draw from the right path not a fool only, but even a sage;"² when they commit faults they may be corrected with a rope, a whip or a cane.³ "Day and night must they be held by their protectors in a state of dependence. Their fathers protected them in childhood, their husbands protect them in youth; their sons protect them in age; they are never fit for independence."⁴ Apart from their husbands, no benefit from the worship and sacrifices which the priests offer in the temples can accrue to them.⁵ They "have no business with the texts of the Veda; thus is the law fully settled: having, therefore, no evidence of law, and no knowledge of expiatory texts, sinful women must be as foul as falsehood itself; and this is a fixed rule. Through their passion for men, their mutable temper, their want of settled affection, and their perverse nature (let them be guarded in this world ever so well), they soon become alienated from their

¹ Institutes of Monoo, iii. 55, 56, 57, 59.

² *Ibid.* ii. 213, 214.

³ *Ibid.* viii. 299; ix. 230.

⁴ *Ibid.* ix. 2, 3.

⁵ *Ibid.* v. 155.

husbands.”¹ It can hardly be supposed that these laws were carried out in their integrity, or that the state of society was ever such as to call for it, that fathers believed their daughters, husbands their wives, brothers their sisters, and sons their mothers, to be incapable of virtuous conduct. That women were held in low estimation must, however, be admitted, because this is indicated by the total absence of all provision for their mental training; while hundreds of schools existed for boys, there was not a single one for girls, and instead of educating them being thought necessary, it was thought to be useless, if not pernicious.

The duties of women vary, as in other countries, with their rank. Those of the wife of the peasant are to clean the house,—washing the threshold, floor, and walls, with a liquid composed of water and cow-dung,²—to spin cotton, husk and grind rice,³ collect fuel,⁴ cook, wait on her husband, and take care of the children. The style of living is simple. Though flour, wheaten and other kinds, is much used in some parts of India, the staple food of most Hindoos is rice eaten with vegetable or fish curry, but by the very poor with nothing more than herbs. Water is the only beverage at meals. Seated on the floor, with the

¹ Institutes of Monoo, ix. 15, 18.

² All places can be purified with cow-dung. A compound of the five products of the cow—milk, curds, clarified butter, dung and urine—effaces even moral stains, washes away the sins of men, and also the iniquities of the gods. Swallowing pills made of these five ingredients, is an important part of the recently appointed penance which delinquents undergo to be restored to the privileges of caste.

³ In the hand-mill, as used by the Hebrews in the time of Moses, which continues to be used in most countries in the East.

⁴ Wood is burned, but the fuel generally used by the peasantry is cow-dung picked up in the lanes and fields; it is kneaded and formed into round thin cakes which are placed in the sun to dry, being put on the grass, or on the walls of houses and gardens. Poor women gather this fuel and carry large baskets of it, for sale, to neighbouring towns and villages.

food before them on a palm or plantain leaf, an earthen or a metallic plate, they put it into their mouth with the fingers of the right hand, never with those of the left, —because the left, with which certain ablutions and mean offices are performed, is believed to be unclean. Both before and after meals they wash their hands. Like the women of all other ranks, the wife of the peasant sits down to eat after her husband has finished his meal, for custom does not allow her to dine with him;¹ nor does it permit her to walk with him; when they go to market, on a visit, or on a journey, she always walks behind him. She is never heard to pronounce his name, because it is a breach of decorum to do so. When she has occasion to speak of him, it is as the father of their eldest son; or of their eldest daughter, should they have no sons; and in the event of their being childless, she refers to him in the third person, using only the pronoun *he*, or calls him the master of the house, or mentions the designation of his employment or office. The husband observes the same rule in regard to the name of his wife; it never passes his lips.

Women belonging to the wealthy classes live in seclusion. This was not always the case. In ancient times they moved about in towns and villages with the same freedom as ladies do in England, and probably continued to do so till the Mohammedan invasion, when they adopted the custom of seclusion in imitation of the conquerors, or, what is more likely, as a precaution against the violence of the

¹ In ancient times this custom appears not to have been known, or at least not to have been observed on all occasions; for in giving directions about hospitality, Monoo speaks of the husband and wife dining together when entertaining their guests. He says: "To others, as familiar friends, and to the rest before-named, who come with affection to his place of abode, let him serve a repast at the same time with his wife and himself, having amply provided it according to his best means."—Institutes, iii. 118.

Mussulman soldiery. But whatever may have been its origin, it is now more or less observed in all parts of India, and the feelings of fathers, brothers, and husbands are in favour of it, and greatly opposed to the women of the family appearing in public. This is not so much, perhaps, from an apprehension that intercourse with the outer world would lead to corruption of manners, as from seclusion being deemed an indication of respectability, because it is what none but the opulent can afford to practise. In this way the women themselves may have come to regard it, not as an encroachment on their liberty, which is to be brooded over as a grievance, but as a privilege peculiar to their status in society. The monotony of their existence is somewhat relieved by the performance of light household duties, preparing favourite dishes for their husbands, looking after the children, and superintending female servants. In paying visits to their female relations and friends, the following course is adopted to avoid being seen by men. The bearers having brought in the palanquin and gone outside, the lady gets into it, when the maid-servant shuts the doors, calls the bearers, and tells them the place to which they are to carry her mistress; on coming to it they put down the palanquin in the ante-room and retire, then the lady gets out, and is conducted to the zenana, the part of the house appropriated to females. The same precautions are taken on returning home.

While bathing, she is screened from public view behind walls of stone, brick, or bamboo mats, erected on the banks of the river. Sometimes she is carried into the river in a palanquin, in which she performs her ablutions. The bottom of the palanquin is network, of strong grass generally, but occasionally of hempen or cotton cord, and will let in water like a sieve. When sick, and the doctor is called, she stands behind a curtain, at the folds of which she puts out

her hand, when by feeling the pulse and asking questions he ascertains from what she is suffering, and, without ever seeing her, prescribes the remedies which he considers necessary to restore her to health. Even when she appears before her husband, his father or elder brothers, she always covers her head with one end of her saree. The condition of a woman depends much on her being the sole wife. Most men take only one, but though not generally practised, polygamy is allowed. It being considered of great importance for a Hindoo to have a son to perform the ceremonies which religion orders for the dead,—to kindle the funeral pile, and present “from month to month, on the dark day of the moon,”¹ the accustomed oblations to the manes of ancestors,—“a barren wife may be superseded in the eighth year; she whose children are all dead, in the tenth; she who brings forth only daughters, in the eleventh; she who speaks unkindly, without delay.”² But in the absence of reasons like the above, those who are disposed to practise polygamy take as many wives as they please, or may be able to support, and incur neither punishment nor blame. Nothing, however, like repudiation takes place, the first wife retains her position as the mistress of the house, and her sanction to the marriage of the other wives is always asked;³ but this is little more than a matter of form which etiquette prescribes, and knowing it to be so, she does what she is asked—agrees to what she cannot help. Those suffer most from polygamy who marry Kooleens. Kooleens are Brahmons of the highest rank, descendants of men who in a distant age are believed to have revived religion and learning in the kingdom of Bengal. To have one of them for a son-in-law is considered a great honour; but he may, as indeed is often the case, make a trade of marriage, have fifty or a hundred wives, and con-

¹ Institutes of Monoo, iii. 122.

² *Ibid.* ix. 81.

³ *Ibid.* ix. 82.

tribute nothing to their support,—leave them with their parents, and regulate the number and length of his visits to the family by the value of the gifts he receives. “There is a popular drama in Bengal, in which one of those husbands of seventy wives is represented as passing through the streets one day, and meeting a boy, who approached him and addressed him as ‘Father.’ The man, confounded and somewhat indignant, denied his fatherhood, but the boy persevered in his statement. At last it strikes this learned man that it may after all be true, and he instantly refers to a bundle of papers which he always carries about with him, and goes through the long list of his wives, until he finds out that the statement made by the boy turns out to be true.”¹ The following twelve detailed cases, taken from a long list in the returns of the district of Hooghly, contained in a pamphlet published in the vernacular language by Ishwor Chondro Vidyasagar, a distinguished Sanskrit scholar, may give some idea of the prevalence of polygamy in the rest of the province of Bengal, and in other parts of India :—

Name of the Koolin.	His Age.	Number of his Wives.
Shib Chondro Mookerjee,	45	40
Jodoo Nath Banerjee,	47	41
Ishan Chondro Banerjee,	52	44
Nobo Coomar Banerjee,	52	50
Shama Chorn Chatterjee,	60	50
Boido Nath Mookerjee,	60	50
Ram Moy Mookerjee,	50	52
Tituram Gangerly,	70	55
Modhoo Soodin Mookerjee,	40	56
Poorno Chondro Mookerjee,	55	62
Bhogwan Chatterjee,	64	72
Bolo Nath Banerjee,	55	85

On Monday, the 19th of March, 1866, a petition, bearing

¹ “Kishab Chondro Sen’s Visit to England,” p. 467.

the signatures of 21,000 Hindoo gentlemen residing in the metropolis and its vicinity, was presented to Sir Cecil Beadon, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, praying for the abolition of this atrocious custom. The answer returned to it was to the following effect : The British Government was disposed to pass a law to abolish not only Kooleen polygamy, but to prohibit a plurality of wives among all classes of its subjects. For such just and comprehensive legislation the petitioners were not prepared, because, though not Kooleens, some were polygamists themselves, therefore they did not press the matter any further, and consequently nothing was done.

According to the instructions of Hindooism, the duty of a wife is not only to live in perfect obedience to the will of her husband, but to die in the flames which consume his corpse. This custom was little less destructive than pestilence and war, but the exact number immolated cannot be known, because statistical returns relating to the subject, and comprehending the whole of India, were never made. In a small district, including Calcutta and thirty miles around the city, it was ascertained by Dr. Carey, that 438 widows were burnt alive in 1803. Between 1815 and 1828, according to the statement of the magistrates, 8144 perished in the Presidency of Bengal, and from this it may be inferred that the number immolated throughout the entire country was appallingly great. Some were very young. Sixty-one, the oldest not having attained the age of eighteen, are mentioned by the Government. Fourteen were seventeen years old, one was sixteen and a-half, twenty-two were sixteen, six were fifteen, two were fourteen, two were thirteen, ten were twelve, one was ten, and three were eight. Murders on so large a scale, the sorrow and anguish of thousands of children bereaved of their mothers, and Brahmons, ministers of religion, attending the burning, stirring up the fire to hasten the work of death,

may give some idea of Sotee, and awaken in every humane bosom feelings of devout thankfulness that it has been abolished. It was prohibited in the British dominions in the year 1829, during the administration of Lord William Bentinck; in the territories of some of the native princes in 1847, during the administration of Lord Hardinge; and in the territories of others in 1848, during the administration of Lord Dalhousie. The learned Ram Mohan Ray, who had the welfare of the country at heart, did much by his writings to prepare the way for the abolition of the cruel rite. Approval was not, however, as might have been hoped, universal. Eighteen thousand native gentlemen, many of them of the highest families in Calcutta and the neighbourhood, signed a petition to the Privy Council, in which they expressed themselves aggrieved by the suppression of the rite, and prayed for its restoration.

In the nuptial texts of the Veda a second husband is not allowed to a virtuous woman, and by taking one she becomes despicable, brings disgrace on herself in this world, and forfeits the happiness of heaven.¹ With the view of counteracting the influence of this rigid interdiction, some Hindoo gentlemen presented a petition to the Legislature asking for a civil statute to terminate the suffering, misery and crime arising from enforced widowhood, and the result was the passing of a law which permits widows to marry again. It created at the time great sensation, and many availed themselves of the privilege granted. Some young men, did this influenced by affection only, and others a little stimulated, perhaps, by a large pecuniary present made to them by a band of reformers, who took a lively interest in the successful working of the statute. The following table, printed in the *Calcutta Christian Observer* of September, 1865, at page 421, gives a few particulars of thirty-three such weddings:—

¹ Monoo. v. 162.; ix. 65.; v. 161, 163.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA.

DETAILS OF WIDOWS RE-MARRIED, ACCORDING TO THE HINDOO SHASTROS.

Caste.	Name, Parentage, and Nativity of the Widow.	Widow's Age when Re-married.	Name, Parentage, and Nativity of the Husband of the Re-married Widow.	Date of Re-marriage. ¹
Brahman.	Kalmati, daughter of Brahmanando Mukerji, of Pollasdanga, Burdwan.	10 years.	Sris Chunder Vedyaratna, son of Ramdhone Turkobegish, of Khatna, Naddia.	Bengali style, 1283 : A.D. 7th December, 1865.
Kyastha.	Thakomoni, daughter of Eshan Chunder Mitter, of Thanthunia, Calcutta.	12 years.	Modee Sudun Ghose, son of Kristo Cally Ghose, Panibhatti, 24-Porgonas.	24th Aughran, ² 1283.
Kyastha.	Gobindmoni, daughter of Ram Sunder Ghose, of Bhowanipore, 24-Porgonas.	14 years.	Durganarain Bose, son of Modee Sudun Bose, of Boral, 24-Porgonas.	11th Falgoun, ³ 1283.
Kyastha.	Nrittya Cally, daughter of Hurris Chunder Biawas, of Sookchar, 24-Porgonas.	13 years.	Mudden Mohun Bose, son of Nundolell Bose, of Boral, 24-Porgonas.	26th Falgoun, 1283.
Brahman.	Lukshmi Monee, daughter of Sorap C. Chuckerbatty, of Keagaro, Hugli.	8 years.	Jodu Nath Chatterjee, of Goeaur, Naddia.	Aughran, 1284.
Tantabaya.	Ahlesini, daughter of Nobin Chunder Das, of Ramjibunpur, Hugli.	12 years.	Namy Churn Dey, son of Khudiram Dey, of Ramjibunpur, Hugli.	19th Ashar, ⁴ 1285.
Tantabaya.	Narayani, daughter of Godeadhur Das, of Ramjibunpur, Hugli.	12 years.	Sricanto Das, son of Kenaram Das, of Ramjibunpur, Hugli.	28th Ashar, 1285.

Sadgrope.	Mangala, daughter of Sarthak Ghose, of Basul, Hugli.	12 years.	Kartik Chunder Ghose, son of Guruprosad Ghose, of Selnagar, Hugli.	10th Srabun, ⁵ 1265.
Brahmon.	Goneshjononi, daughter of Kally Prosad Mukerji, of Chunderkona, Hugli.	7 years.	Sriram Chuckerbutty, son of Kenaram Chuckerbutty, of Sona, Hugli.	26th Srabun, 1265.
Taylik.	Maloti, daughter of Bhim Churn Tili, of Anandpur, Medinipur.	13 years.	Prem Chand Das, son of Govardhun Das, of Ramjibunpur, Hugli.	10th Srabun, 1265.
Tantubaya.	Tanaya, daughter of Golap Dutt, of Chunderkona, Hugli.	13 years.	Modu Sudun Das, son of Ramjoy Das, of Chunderkona, Hugli.	23rd Srabun, 1265.
Brahmon.	Alokeshi, daughter of Haradhone Chatterji, of Kherpie, Hugli.	9 years.	Radha Madhub Chuckerbutty, son of Anund C. Chuckerbutty, of Kalikapur, Hugli.	31st Srabun, 1265.
Tantubaya.	Rohini, daughter of Ram Chand Mundi, of Chunderkona, Hugli.	11 years.	Tara Chand Mundi, son of Kenaram Mundi, of Chunderkona, Hugli.	17th Bhadro, ⁶ 1265.
Taylik.	Bindubeshini, daughter of Sricakto Das, of Ramjibunpur, Hugli.	11 years.	Madhub Chunder Pal, son of Devidas Pal, of Ramjibunpur, Hugli.	30th Aughran, 1265.
Brahman.	Shrunomoyi, daughter of Khetter Mohun Banerji, of Chunderkona, Hugli.	10 years.	Ramdas Roy, son of Ramdhone Roy, of Datpur, Hugli.	16th Magh, ⁷ 1265.
Brahmon.	Mongola, daughter of Kasinath Chuckerbutty, of Nedagama, Medinipur.	11 years.	Sriram Bhuttacharji, son of Juggesahur Bhuttacharji, of Depur, Hugli.	28th Magh, 1266.

¹ Though the spelling in the table of names is, in many instances, peculiar, and not always uniform, yet it has not been altered, as doing it might create confusion. ² Part of November and part of December. ³ Part of February and part of March. ⁴ Part of June and part of July. ⁵ Part of July and part of August. ⁶ Part of August and part of September. ⁷ Part of January and part of February.

DETAILS OF WIDOWS RE-MARRIED, ACCORDING TO THE HINDOO SHASTROS—*continued.*

Caste.	Name, Parentage, and Nativity of the Widow.	Widow's Age when Re-married.	Name, Parentage, and Nativity of the Husband of the Re-married Widow.	Date of Re-marriage. ¹
Tantubaya.	Durgadasi, daughter of Muchiram Das, of Ramjibunpur, Hughli.	9 years.	Mahavarat Das, son of Anundo Das, of Ramjibunpur, Hughli.	1266.
Taylit.	....	11 years.	Siboproced, of Ramjibunpur, Hughli.	....
Tantubaya.	Dinnomoyi, daughter of Rammohun Korr, of Buddengunj, Hughli.	....	Siboproced Shome, son of Kristo Chunder Shome, of Buddengunj, Medinipur.	24th Joystho, ² 1267.
Kysatha.	Prasonomoyi, daughter of Ramkristo Bose, of Judapur, Hughli.	11 years.	Nemy Chunder Singh, son of Ram Gopal Singh, of Jowgram, Burdwan.	29th Srahan, 1267.
Tantubaya.	Bohini, daughter of Modusundun Pal, of Hajipur, Hughli.	8 years.	Kanti Churn Guho, son of Sricanto Guho, of Ramjibunpur, Hughli.	Aughran, 1268.
Tantubaya.	Ananga Manjari, daughter of Rammohun Korr, of Buddengunj, Medinipur.	9 years.	Gobind Pal, son of Ramdhone Pal, of Hajipur, Hughli.	2nd Ashar, 1268.
Brahman.	Kadamhini, daughter of Haradhone Chatterji, of Kharpal, Hughli.	7 years.	Rambrohmoo Pattack, son of Callydas Pattack, son of Sodygunj, Hughli.	24th Srahan, 1269.

Brahman.	Tarangini, daughter of Gyaram Roy, of Nutungram, Banaura.	9 years.	Rajaram Mukerji, son of Shama Churn Mukerji, of Hajipur, Hugbli.	30th Aughran, 1269.
Kyastha.	Abladini, daughter of Ram Chunder Dutt, of Nutungram, Banaura.	7 years.	Saradaprosad Ghose, son of Mothomohun Ghose, of Ralkha, Medinipur.	7th Bysack, ^s 1270.
Kyastha.	Mokhoda, daughter of Mothurmohun Ghose, of Ralkha, Medinipur.	6 years.	Kristoprosad Dutt, son of Ram Chunder Dutt, of Bachua, Medinipur.	7th Bysack, 1270.
Kyastha.	Nilmoni, daughter of Gopinath Dutt, of Bachua, Medinipur.	14 years.	Parbutty Churn Sircar, son of Lakhynaram Sircar, of Kasadul, Medinipur.	15th Srabun, 1270.
Brahman.	Tarasundori, daughter of Gyaram Roy, of Kusulpur Jolia, Banaura.	14 years.	Sridhur Chucherboutty, son of Dhonenjoy Chucherboutty, of Sundhipur, Medinipur.	9th Bhodro, 1285.
Brahman.	Mokhoda, daughter of Bycuntha Vattacharji, of Gobrapur, Nadidia.	.. years.	Jodunath Chatterjee.	..
Voyddo.	Mukta Keshi, daughter of Madden Sen, of Kachadia, Bikrampur, Dacca.	11 years.	Madub Chunder Das, son of Boyddo N. Das, of Singa.	1st Falgoon, 1271.
Kyastha.	Parasmoni, daughter of Gobind Prosad Dutt, of Jolabar.	14 years.	Hurro Loll Sircar, son of Gour Kessore Sircar, of Eluber, Burrisal (with great eclat).	18th Magh, 1271.
Kyastha.	Bona Sundori, daughter of Fakir Chaand Bhaddro, of Tarai of Norral.	..	Jugunt Chunder Gupta, son of Madub Chunder Gupta, of Bikrampur.	12th Magh, 1271.

¹ Though the spelling in the table of names is in many instances peculiar, and not always uniform, yet it has not been altered, as doing so might create confusion.

^s Part of May and part of June. ^s Part of April and part of May.

The number of marriages celebrated at this period afforded great encouragement to the reformers, but exercised little or no influence in subduing the strong prejudice entertained by the bulk of the people. The feeling of the nation is yet much opposed to such unions, and only a very few individuals have sufficient moral courage to avail themselves of the benefit of the statute, consequently the amelioration it has wrought in the condition of women is hardly perceptible. On the death of her husband nearly every one is still doomed to perpetual widowhood, and to an almost ascetic life. She must wear no ornaments nor any coloured clothing; and, as her appearance would be considered an evil omen, she is excluded from weddings, and all ceremonies and places of joy. She must perform servile duties, and emaciate her body by living on a very spare diet, taking but one meal in twenty-four hours. Though many become widows when mere children, their tender age secures no exemption from suffering,—their days are destined to be days of sorrow. The population of India is 255,891,823, in which there are no less than 20,938,626 widows; and a glance at the census will show how hardly the Hindoo canon bears upon the young, and what little relief modern legislation has afforded them. There are 63,557 widows under ten years of age, 174,524 between ten and fifteen, 312,651 between fifteen and twenty, and 1,572,145 between twenty and thirty.¹

There are, doubtless, Hindoos who are more humane than their creed and the gods they worship, who in their treatment of widows discard ancient dogmas, and consult the kindly feelings of their own hearts; yet those who thus rise in action above the influence of superstition, and in defiance of public opinion boldly do what is right, have hitherto been too few in number to effect any great improvement in the

¹ Census 1881.

condition of widows. The condition of most is still one of great deprivation, little better than a lingering death. Moreover, tens of thousands of all ages and ranks being thus doomed to perpetual widowhood, beset with powerful temptations, and without the sacred influence of true religion to restrain and guide their steps, what might be apprehended takes place—many add guilt and shame to misery, and abandon themselves to evil courses.

This was the condition of the women of India at the period of the Greek invasion, and, if not ameliorated by other influences, Hindooism would perpetuate it to the end of the world. Education and Christianity are labouring to bring about a change. The number affected by their influence is yet small, compared with the vast population of the country, but its gradual increase may be expected with as much certainty as we expect the dawn to usher in the day, for the light of truth, like that of the sun, is progressive, and not to be resisted in its course. The work, however, is simple, contains nothing of a romantic nature, and persons to whom the common affairs of life are insipid will feel no pleasure in it. What has hitherto been accomplished in it has been by little and little, and is the result of prayerful, patient, and persevering toil, in which many have earned an honourable name, and will live in the warm affections of the people to the latest times. In a superstitious age of the Church they would have been canonized. At first they endured much of a humiliating character. The goodness of their intentions was doubted, or their labour so unappreciated that they had to fee pupils—give them a little more than a farthing a-day, and now and then presents of new clothes,—to induce them to receive instruction. Some parents were actually hostile, and would not allow religious or even secular knowledge to be imparted to their children; they resolved to keep them ignorant that they

might continue innocent, for, in their opinion, education was somehow connected with immorality; because then, few, if any, females were able to read and write, except dancing girls, many of whom were vicious, and educated for the sole purpose of making them more seductive. Hence arose a strong prejudice against schools, founded on a misapprehension of there being in learning a demoralizing power. Most of the natives who were well-disposed, dreading the anger, reproaches, and vengeance of their bigoted neighbours, stood aloof. A few welcomed the teachers as friends, and aided them to the utmost of their power.

The progress of education is apparent not only in the diffusion of elementary knowledge among the poor, but in the acquirements of learning of a high character in the middle and upper ranks, and in the great changes which are taking place in their opinions and habits. Some are Sanskrit scholars; others deliver in the vernacular languages, to large audiences, lectures on "The Superiority of the Human Being in the Scale of Creation," on Female Education, and on the Rightful Position of Women. A few have studied medicine, and qualified themselves to practise as doctors; and, discarding the interdictions of caste, one has accompanied her husband to Europe, crossed "the kalo panee," the black water, and, on returning home, published an account of their travels. Constituted as Hindoo society is, on ancient laws once deemed immutable, these are strange events, and there are others like them. Their chief cause must be ascribed to the influence of Christian and secular schools, which is gradually extending itself every year over large portions of the country, and will, it is to be hoped, at no very distant day be felt throughout the whole of India.

Now, many value education for its intrinsic worth, and others for the benefits which accompany it. The higher

classes cannot any longer dispense with it, as without it they will not be able to maintain their present status in society ; for if their daughters continue ignorant, they must marry into families below them, because the young men, who, in our schools and colleges, are conducted through every branch of learning, are becoming more and more reluctant to receive as wives those who are unfit to be their companions. Over the minds of a people who are keenly alive to their secular interests, this consideration will have a powerful influence. Mammon is their principal deity, and to obtain worldly advantages, which cannot in any other way be reached, they will discard the usages of their fathers, and have the female members of their households educated, that they may be allied to persons not inferior to them in wealth or station.

A few persons have made an innovation in the manner of conducting the preliminaries to marriage, at which orthodox Hindoos stand aghast. Some natives are dispensing with the secret services of ghotoks, professional match-makers, and resorting to the columns of a public journal. A paper has been started in the North-Western Provinces, entitled, *The Social Reformer and Marriage Advertiser*. In a single issue of it no less than seven widows express their willingness to accept proposals of marriage. One of them is only twelve years of age. "Her father wishes her to be married to a Bengali Brahmon ; as there is a Bengali gentleman of the Brahmon caste who has passed the university entrance examination, and who desires to espouse a Brahmonnee widow not past the bloom of fifteen, the obliging editor refers the two parties to each other's advertisement." A Bengali gentleman "of fine features and fair colour," who is an official of the Public Works Department, advertises for a suitable widow ; another Bengali gentleman in a mercantile firm desires to be united to a widow who is

educated and beautiful. A well-educated Ponjabee gentleman, "good looking and of fair colour" wants to hear of a beautiful lady, a spinster, who may be of any caste, provided she bear a good moral character.¹ "A Khatri of a very high family of Thapur Gote, aged eighteen, who is going up this year for the middle school examination, wishes to marry a widow, whose age should be twelve or thirteen years, who must be nice-looking, and who must have received some education." A Bengali lady, who became a widow when she was eleven years of age, and who possesses a fair complexion and long beautiful hair, desires to be married again. An eligible, who describes himself as employed on the Scinde, Ponjab, and Delhi Railway, on a salary of fourteen rupees per month, wants to marry "with any kind of ceremony."²

In the year 1872, in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, 1997 inmates of zenanas were taught at their homes—997 of them were single, 670 married, and 330 widows. During the same year, in the day and boarding schools for girls under the auspices of Protestant Missionary Societies, in India, Ceylon, and Burma, the average attendance was 29,016;³ in the Government seminaries, 18,112; and in private ones, 334; making in the aggregate, 47,462. In 1873 the number was 57,000. Those educated in zenanas and in schools by Protestant missionaries in India, Ceylon, and Burma, are now as many as 65,761.

¹ The *Homeward Mail*, 4th March, 1884, p. 219.

² The *Homeward Mail*, 20th May, 1884, p. 488.

³ In the returns of the children in the Roman Catholic schools in India and the island of Ceylon, the number of each sex is not given,—including both males and females, it was 36,349.—Report of the Allahabad Conference of 1872, p. 533.

FEMALE PUPILS	1851	1861	1871	1881
In India, . . .	11,193	15,969	26,611	56,408
In Burma, . . .	No returns	1,066	1,016	1,485
In Ceylon, . . .	2,802	3,989	3,953	7,868
	13,995	21,024	31,580	65,761 ¹

The area of British India, measuring 897,608 square miles, contains a female population of 100,661,146.

Those under instruction number, 117,200²
 and those not under instruction,
 but who are able to read and
 write, 231,891

349,091³

So that the number of unedu-
 cated females amounts to . . . 100,312,055
100,661,146

The proportion to the total female population of those who can read and write, but are not under instruction is 1 in 434. The proportion to the total female population of those under instruction is 1 in 858.⁴ This is a fact much to be deplored, yet it furnishes evidence of some advance being made in the way of improvement; for there was a time when not one in a million of girls, belonging to any family careful of its good name, was allowed to be taught the art of reading.

¹ Statistical Tables of 1881 of Protestant Missions, p. 15.

² Including 717 boys attending girls' schools.

³ Report of the Indian Education Commission of the year 1883, p. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*

An important change has taken place in the opinion of parents. They no longer think ignorance a safeguard of purity, and knowledge an enemy to virtue; they appreciate the advantages of education, and send their children to school. Some have commenced to pay for the education of their daughters. Last year, 1883, in Miss Heysham's school at Podmopookoor, Bhowanipore, the fees realised amounted to 496 rupees—about £40 sterling. "Education has become a reality and a social necessity, for, now-a-days, the better a girl is educated the better chance she stands of being well married."¹

Though in cities and large towns considerable numbers learn the English language, the education which is given is generally conducted through the medium of the vernacular, and regulated, as to its standard, by the rank and requirements of the pupils. Reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and history are always taught, frequently needlework and household duties. Fancy-work, after the European fashion, is much taught, especially in zenanas, and a little, but not much, is done in the native style of embroidery; and to these subjects is added, in missionary institutions, instruction in the Christian religion. The young, both in the houses of the opulent and of the poor, value knowledge, often for its own sake, feel its pursuit a delight, its attainment a duty; it opens to them a new world, containing riches, wonders, and pleasures, which increase the more they are enjoyed. Parents, from self-interest if from nothing better, wish their children to be taught, that they may keep pace with the children of their neighbours, or outstrip them in the race of life. Indeed, all the motives—the mixed and the purely good—which stimulate ourselves are exercising a growing influence on Hindoos, and will doubtless continue

¹ *The Chronicle of the London Missionary Society*, February, 1884, p. 58.

to do so till education, imparted in the spirit of the Gospel, has enlightened and elevated the women of India, as it has done their sisters in other lands. Besides 9132 pupils taught the religion of Christ at their homes in the zenanas by Protestant ladies, 47,276 pupils attend Protestant missionary schools,¹ where, in reading the sacred Scriptures, they have opened to them the way to eternal life. Such education has been divinely blessed already to a considerable number, who are now living a Christian life, and to others who have joined the host of the redeemed "of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues."²

¹ Statistical Tables of 1881 of Protestant Missions, p. xv.

² Rev. vii. 9.

CHAPTER XII.

ASCETICS.

AUSTERITIES have been practised from the earliest ages to the present times by professors of nearly every creed. The devout, breathing after spiritual perfection; the studious, desirous of leisure for the cultivation of letters; the disappointed, bereaved and forsaken, stricken to the heart with sorrow; the ambitious, resolved on the acquisition of fame; the debauchee, robber, and murderer, afflicted with the anguish of a guilty conscience, and dreading the judgment of an avenging God; these have in all countries, in greater or less numbers, renounced the world.

The appearance of the Indian ascetic strikes an intelligent stranger with surprise, and makes an impression on the mind, which, though much weakened by frequent repetition of the sight, is perhaps never effaced. His body is besmeared with the ashes of cow-dung, and on the nose, ears, throat, point of each shoulder, the arms above the elbows, the sides, navel, and backbone, appear the sectarial marks made with red or white paint, composed of sandal-wood and the sacred mud of the Ganges; with the same mixture the name of the deity to whose service he has devoted himself is stamped on the forehead, and wherever besides fancy dictates. Over the shoulder hang a wallet and a cloak of patchwork; under the arm is borne the skin of a deer, an

antelope, or a tiger, which serves the purposes of a seat and bed;¹ in the left hand is a drinking cup, the bottle-gourd; in the right hand the pilgrim's staff; strings of beads adorn the neck;² the nails of the fingers are allowed to grow continually; the beard is unshaved; the hair of the head, never combed, is tied in a large knot on the crown, or is loose, and hangs down the back; a rag fastened before and behind to a cord which goes round the loins is often the only covering used, sometimes even this is dispensed with, and the devotee is stark naked.

Undoubtedly many of these devotees assume the appearance of extraordinary piety to attract the admiration of the multitude, to live on alms and avoid the necessity of labour, to perambulate the country in safety as dealers in precious stones, to free themselves from the restraints which society imposes on licentious habits, or to cloak the deeds of spies, robbers and assassins; yet not a few, it must be admitted, are really in earnest, and enter on their self-denying course with no sinister object in view; renouncing the ties, interests, and pleasures of the world, and mortifying the body in every possible way, they are wholly absorbed in a conscientious discharge of their religious duties.

Their austerities have perhaps never been surpassed, probably never equalled. Vast numbers proceed on long, perilous pilgrimages, of whom many perish by the way. About 40,000, it has been estimated, yearly scale the heights of the Himalayas, till they arrive at the fane of Bhadrinath;³

¹ The Boiragees, the votaries of Vishnoo, do not use the skin.

² The votaries of Shivo wear a rosary composed of thirty-two or sixty-four berries of the Roodrakhya tree, *elaecarpus ganitrus*. The votaries of Vishnoo wear a rosary composed of 108 beads made of the root of the Toolsee plant, a plant sacred to that divinity, the holy basil, *ocimum sanctum*.

³ Situated in lat. 30° 43' N., long. 79° 39' E.; 80 miles north from Almora, in Kumaon.

some ascend to the temple of Gongotri,¹ where they behold the sacred river issuing from beneath the eternal snows ; a few penetrate the passes of the central range till they reach the Manasa Lake,² deemed the most holy of waters. Others, crawling on the ground, make the circuit of a widely-extended region ; fall lengthways on the ground, with the hands make a mark at the place which the head reaches, rise, and putting the toes to the mark, prostrate themselves again, and thus measure several hundred miles, the road to Jogonnath and other shrines ; stand in one posture till the legs become swollen and ulcerous ; hold the right hand stretched out above the head till, from inaction, it becomes rigid and withered ; turn the head over one of the shoulders, and gaze at the heavens till they lose the power of resuming their natural position, when, from the contortion of the neck, nothing but liquids can pass down the throat ; sit a whole day in the hot season exposed to the scorching heat of the sun ; in the wet and wintry seasons remain without shelter from the cold, the rain, and the tempest ; impose on themselves vows of perpetual silence, abandon the habitations of men, and dwell in the forest.

They are required to abstain from all savoury food, and to subsist like the holy sages of ancient times. The law says : " Let them eat green herbs, flowers, roots, and fruit that grow on earth or in water, and productions of pure trees, and oils formed in fruit. Let them not eat the pro-

¹ Situated 12,914 feet above the level of the sea, lat. 31° 4' N., long. 78° 55' E. ; 62 miles north by east from Scrinagor. " Go," means cow. That animal being held sacred, is honoured with the rites of divine worship. Superstition gives to the cavern from which the waters rush the shape of the mouth of this goddess, hence it is called the cow's mouth. It is nearly 300 miles above Horidwar, the Gate of Hori, where the river enters the plains of Hindostan from the northern hills. Hori is a name of Vishnoo, and " dwar " means door.

² In lat. 31° N., long. 81° E.

duce of ploughed land, though abandoned by any man who owns it, nor fruit and roots produced in a town, even though hunger oppress them. They may eat what is mellowed by fire, and they may eat what is ripened by time; and either let them break hard fruits with a stone, or let their teeth serve as a pestle."¹ These articles they must beg of reputable persons, who reverence the Vedas, present the accustomed oblations, and live a devout life. To obtain them by labour, or from the charity of the wicked, would be degrading—yea, even criminal. They are to keep in subjection the passions of lust, anger, covetousness, pride, and envy, and never to take intoxicating liquors or drugs. This victory over nature is to be achieved by stoical apathy, self-government, mortification, patient endurance, reverential faith in the scriptures, abstracting the mind from external objects, and fixing it in deep meditation on the Deity. "Let them," it is said, "not wish for death; let them not wish for life; let them expect their appointed time, as a hired servant expects his wages."² Many conform, as far as possible, to this rigorous code, and in consequence are little more than breathing skeletons; but others, perhaps the greater number, live rather sumptuously; and by spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs not unfrequently raise themselves to a state of frenzy. Instead of never soliciting alms from the ungodly, they beg from persons of every shade of character; and when refused (which, being held in much reverence or terror, is seldom the case), resort to physical force, array themselves against the people, and actually rob houses, shops, and markets at noonday. When proceeding on pilgrimage to shrines and waters of great sanctity, they sometimes travel in large companies, and lay the districts through which they pass under contribution.

¹ Monoo, vi. 13, 16, 17; 5, 11.

² Monoo, vi. 45.

Such libertines become, it will be readily imagined, a pest to the places they visit; and, to get rid of them, the authorities have been known to adopt singular expedients. "On one occasion more than two hundred crossed over from a temple on the mainland to Bombay—fine-looking young men, athletic, bold, and impudent beyond what is usual even with their impudent brotherhood. As they quickly rendered themselves a nuisance even to the Hindoos, the governor became desirous of removing them from the island without offending the Brahmons, who are the natural patrons of all imposture. The ditch surrounding the fortifications, of great extent and considerable breadth, at that time requiring cleaning, an order was issued that all vagabonds who could not give a proper account of themselves should immediately be employed in this labour. The next morning not a travelling Jogi, Gossain, Sonnyasee, or any of the fraternity was to be found upon the island."

Women, if so disposed, are permitted to join their relations in bearing the austerities of an ascetic life. This we learn from the counsels of Monoo, who says: "When the father of a family perceives his muscles become flaccid and his hair grey, and sees the child of his child, let him then seek refuge in a forest. Abandoning all food eaten in towns, and all his household utensils, let him repair to the lonely wood, committing the care of his wife to her sons, or accompanied by her, if she choose to attend him."¹

Female ascetics are not numerous, but are now and then met with. On one occasion, when preaching in the open air in Khagra, a female ascetic, about fifty years of age, joined the congregation, and attentively listened to an explanation of Christian doctrine. At the close of the service, Gooroprosad and I spoke to her. We learned from the conversation that, in going on pilgrimage to different holy

¹ Monoo, vi. 2, 3.

places, she had heard the Gospel in several towns through which she passed, and was much pleased with the words and life of the Redeemer. She was born in the city of Benares, the Jerusalem of the Hindoos, and had never been married. Her father and mother were Sonnyasees, religious mendicants, who are worshippers of Shivo, and she became one in her seventh year. She commenced to hold up her right arm above her head when about seven years of age, and had not, she said, since then taken it down. It was stiff, but not withered. The hand was closed, and the nails were long.

The nail of the thumb measured 5 inches.

„	1st finger	„	3	„
„	2nd	„	4	„
„	3rd	„	3½	„
„	4th	„	4	„

19½ inches.

In ancient times, devotees eminent for their austerities were raised above the condition of mortals, and honoured with the rites of religious worship. Even kings trembled at their curse, and believed no enterprise could be successful without their blessing. In the Podmo Pooran,¹ their reception by a great monarch is thus described, enabling us to form a pretty correct opinion of the homage which it was customary to pay them :—“Penetrated with joy and respect beyond expression, he prostrated himself at full length before them. When he rose, he made them sit down, and washed their feet. He then poured the water that had been so used upon his own head. This was succeeded by a sacrifice of flowers, which he offered to their feet. Then,

¹ The Poorans are books much revered by the Hindoos. They are eighteen in number.

with both hands clasped and raised over his head, he made them a profound obeisance, and addressed them in these words: 'The happiness which I enjoy this day in seeing your holy feet is a sufficient reward for all the good works I have yet performed. I possess all happiness in beholding those blessed feet, which are the true flowers of the blue water-lily. Now is my body become wholly pure. Ye are the gods whom I serve, and besides you I acknowledge no other on earth. Nothing is purer than I shall henceforth be.' "

The respect paid to them in the present day is somewhat less extravagant, but still very great; for though not universally, they are generally held in reverence, and administering to their necessities is deemed by most persons a religious and meritorious duty. Hence multitudes of ascetics are to be seen in every part of India; but their aggregate number, in the absence of statistical records on the subject, it is impossible to compute with exactness. They have been supposed to be several millions, and at the lowest estimate cannot be less than half-a-million. Reckoning the alms each receives, in food or money, at not more than five shillings a month, they will come to £1,500,000 a-year. Yet what is distributed in charity to ascetics is a small amount when compared with what is expended in the general support of Hindooism, which is probably not less per annum than twenty millions sterling. It may be anticipated that a nation which provides such ample revenues for upholding paganism will not, when converted to Christianity, suffer the institutions of its adopted faith to languish, but will dedicate to their service the treasures which it now lavishes on the fanes of idols.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDUCATION.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

THESE schools are held in verandas and court-yards, in separate buildings of brick or stone, and in humble structures with thatched roofs and earthen walls. Pupils of the Sanskrit seminaries are conducted through an extensive course of study, comprising most, sometimes all, of the following branches: grammar, poetry, rhetoric, logic, law, geography, astronomy, astrology, philosophy, and theology. The common schools are taught in the vernacular, and generally confine their attention to reading, writing, and accounts. To these subjects some add a little instruction in legends relating to popular deities.

The scholar sits on a mat spread on the floor, with his legs crossed and drawn under him like a tailor. He learns his letters by making them on the ground with his finger, or with chalk; and, after some proficiency has been thus acquired, writes them on a palm¹-leaf in ink with a reed²-pen. The leaf is supported on the middle finger of his left hand, and kept steady by being held between the thumb and the forefinger; on a word or two being finished, he moves it from the right hand towards the left, and in this way proceeds till he comes to the end of the line.

¹ Palmyra palm—*borassus flabelliformis*.

² *Saccharum fuscum*, and *saccharum sara*.

Plantain-leaves are used for the same purpose. Learning to draw up (which is done on paper) petitions, bonds, acquittances and leases ; also appropriate letters to relations and friends, to tradesmen, merchants, landholders, and Government authorities, forms an important part of education. In such compositions many lads acquire great facility.

The school-hours vary a little, but not much, with the season of the year. The time in the morning is from six or seven till ten or eleven o'clock, and in the afternoon from two or three to sunset, which in India is never so late in summer nor so early in winter as in England. Generally, both in the morning and evening, just before closing the school, all the boys stand up and recite the multiplication table. The most advanced begins, and the others repeat after him till the task is ended. It is probably owing in some measure to this practice, that so many of them become excellent arithmeticians, equal in quickness to the best in the world. The fees vary from a penny to fourpence a-month. Some masters do not take any. They receive gifts from parents of pupils who are well off, and from the community on the celebration of festivals, marriages, and funeral obsequies.

The condition of these schools depends on the character of the masters. Some are inefficient, idle, and cruel ; others, who are nearly all that could be wished, teach well, secure the reverence and affection of the pupils, not only during the period of tuition, but through the whole of after life. Wise, loving, and patient, they ever remember this sage counsel of Monoo : " Good instruction must be given without pain to the instructed ; and sweet, gentle speech must be used by a preceptor who cherishes virtue." ¹

The number of scholars in these private institutions, on the 31st of March, 1882, was 1,807,170.²

¹ Monoo, ii. 159.

² Information obligingly communicated to the Author by the Indian

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS.

The Government of India is now making wisely-directed efforts to educate the people. Formerly its efforts were of a different nature. Danger was apprehended to British rule, not only from the diffusion of Christianity, but even from Western literature and science; therefore, from the seminaries which were established, all light from Europe was carefully excluded. The education patronised was of an Oriental character, Arabic and Sanskrit were the media of tuition; English and the vernaculars may be said to have had no place in it, they were so little regarded. The leading subjects taught were false history, false geography, false chronology, false science, and false philosophy; and, if we say false religion and morals, we shall probably be correct. Unwittingly, the State spent its treasure to thicken darkness and stereotype error. The further the pupils advanced, the less they knew, and the less they were fitted for the duties of life. This is a grave statement, but not rashly made; it is founded on fact. In 1834, several ex-students of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, who had received stipends from the State for twelve years, while prosecuting their studies, and who had earned certificates of great proficiency in Hindoo literature and science, presented a petition to the Committee of Public Instruction. In this they said that, notwithstanding their high testimonials, they were looked upon with indifference by their countrymen, and had little prospect of obtaining a livelihood. They therefore prayed to be recommended to the Governor-General for places in his gift, not of high dignity or great emolument, but such as might just enable

Office. This return of private schools excludes those for Europeans and Eurasians, but includes all other schools not under Government, both the Christian and the secular. The Educational Department of Protestant missions is noticed in another portion of the chapter.

them to exist. They had wasted the best years of life in learning what procured for them neither bread nor respect.¹ Deeply impressed with the evils inflicted on the country by such an education, some of the members of the Committee of Public Instruction advocated a sweeping change ; but others, who were Oriental scholars, deprecated the least innovation. In 1835, the controversy, which had been long and very ably conducted, was closed. Both parties wrote elaborate minutes, stating at great length their opinions, which were submitted to the Governor-General in Council, Lord William Bentinck, who, on the 7th of March of that year, pronounced in favour of a radical alteration in the system."² It was considered advisable, in a political and intellectual point of view, to teach English to the people of India, and mainly rely on it as the medium of instruction. This pre-eminence was given to it because it is the language of the governing body, and, as a depository of learning, occupies a position in relation to the vernaculars of the country similar to the position which at one time Greek and Latin occupied in relation to the vernaculars of Europe. However, no discouragement to the cultivation of the vernaculars was contemplated. It was hoped that many youths, on completing their studies, would go forth as instructors to their countrymen, and become the instruments of diffusing in the native tongues the inestimable benefits of a sound

¹ For more details of this petition, see Lord Macaulay's Educational Minute, dated the 2nd of February, 1835.

² The Committee consisted of ten members, divided into two parties of equal strength ; five were Orientalists, and five Anglicists. The Orientalists were the Hon. H. Shakespear, Messrs. H. F. Prinsep, James Prinsep, W. H. Macnaghten, and T. C. C. Sutherland, the Secretary to the Committee. The Anglicists were Messrs. Bird, Saunders, Bushby, Trevelyan, and J. R. Colvin. Though appointed, on his arrival in India, to be the President of the Committee, Lord Macaulay declined to take any part in its proceedings till the decision of the Governor-General was pronounced on the important questions laid before him.

education, and of creating, in the course of time, a vernacular literature of a highly useful character. It was believed that in this way the learning which was cultivated in the capital would rapidly spread to the extremities of the empire. But these laudable objects have not always been kept in view, for after making proper allowance for the difficulties which have presented themselves, what has been done in vernacular education, considered as the work of nearly half-a-century, is very little indeed; and, when contrasted with what yet remains to be accomplished, is insignificant.

During a long period the rural parts of the country were much neglected, while vast sums were expended on colleges in cities. The cost to the State of the education of a student in them varied from twenty-one to fifty-eight, and averaged £33 a-year; yet most of the recipients of this aid were able to pay for their education. This misdirected benevolence would have furnished money to support in several thousand villages, where the people were poor, good elementary schools. Of late years some improvement has taken place in the appropriation of the educational fund; still the rich get the lion's share of it.

The education given in the Government colleges is but little inferior to that which is obtained in the celebrated seats of learning in Europe; and to the lower branches of the several subjects which are taught in them the pupils of the high schools have their attention directed.

The primary schools teach, in the language of the province or district in which they are located, reading, writing, and arithmetic; grammar, geography, and history.

The State wisely considers the giving of sacred instruction not within its province, and, therefore, towards the respective religions of the country adopts a neutral policy. Hence, in the institutions under its auspices neither the doctrines of Christianity nor of Hindooism are inculcated, nor are caste distinctions ever recognised. Scholars of the priestly

and the servile orders are grouped together in the same classes, and sit together on the same benches. Such amalgamation in ancient times would have been deemed impious, and subjected the parties to severe penalties ; yet now it is followed by no punishment, or any social degradation. Hardly a whisper is heard against it.

On the 31st March, 1882, the number of pupils in Government schools was 709,942.¹

MISSIONARY SCHOOLS.

Besides several thousand primary schools taught in the vernacular, missionary societies have English institutions of a high standard ; and to form an accurate opinion of them, as agencies for propagating the Christian religion—a point on which much controversy has arisen—it will be necessary to discriminate between what is in their power to effect and what is beyond it.

The scholastic department of missions needs, and well deserves, the sympathies, the energies, and the treasures of the Church ; but arguments both for and against it have been advanced, not always distinguished for soundness. Some of them may be briefly noticed.

Much valuable time and a large amount of money are devoted to the teaching of several branches of secular learning ; and these, however useful to the pupils, are not, even remotely, connected with the doctrines of redemption, the diffusion of which is the grand object of missionary societies. But they are taught, it is said, in a Christian way, and this justifies so much attention being given to them. Languages, history, geography, mathematics, philosophy, and political economy, are included in the annual course. To teach these in a Christian way is just as possible as doing any other worldly business in a Christian way,—as grinding corn, making bread, and churning butter in a Christian way ; and

¹ Information obligingly communicated to the Author by the India Office.

it is not more likely that secular studies will raise the soul to Christ than that millers, bakers, and dairymaids will by their occupations become pious; for, though not unfriendly to Christianity, these labours are quite distinct from it. Secular education is intrinsically excellent, indispensable in conducting the business of life, and brings in its train great temporal blessings. Still, the knowledge it communicates, whether relating to literature, science, or art, does not of necessity check the progress of evil, subdue the passions, or create virtuous and heavenward aspirations. High culture, refined tastes, and elegant manners distinguished the Greeks, while they indulged in licentiousness of the grossest nature. The philosopher and the clown were alike in their love of sin. Modern as well as ancient times furnish men highly and deservedly honoured for their marvellous attainments in science who discard Christianity, avow their belief in the self-creation of matter, and in the non-existence of the Deity. About the intrinsic value of secular learning, among thinking men, there cannot, perhaps, be two opinions; but the question which presents itself is this—What is its value as the means of propagating the Christian religion? Is a high state of mental culture a prerequisite to the reception of divine truth? It has not been found to be so among the aborigines of America, the South Sea Islanders, the Karens of Burma, the hill-tribes of India, nor even among the Hindoos and Mohammedans on the plains; for the converts from among them have hitherto consisted chiefly of the poor and lowly. Still, it is contended that, “whatever may be the case of rude, uncultivated tribes,” yet “in the ordinary Hindoo the very capacity to understand the truths of the Christian doctrine needs to be generated, and this requires time and preparation.”¹ The greater degree of

¹ Paper on “High Education,” by the Rev. S. Dyson, “Report of the Allahabad Missionary Conference,” p. 94.

civilization, or the more exalted position to which the ordinary Hindoo has attained, may, by opening up new sources of indulgence, tend to corrupt his heart ; but surely it does not diminish the number or force of his mental faculties, nor can his strangely-organised system of faith unfit him for taking in fresh ideas, and comprehending the plain statements in the gospels. The polite, learned, and superstitious inhabitants of the cities of Greece were gathered into the apostolic churches by the simple means of preaching. All the great conquests of Christianity, whether achieved in primitive times, at the period of the Reformation, or in the recent revivals which have taken place in England, Ireland, Scotland, and America, have been won by the words of Christ, and not by the text-books of universities.

Missionary schools of a high standard are said to be necessary, that the pupils who are educated in them may influence their countrymen in the inferior grades of society ; but great movements in the religious world have generally taken a different course—have worked from below upwards, and not from above downwards. It was not the rich or the learned, as a class, that heard the words of the Saviour with gladness, but the common people ; and it has been so in every country and in every age.

Apostolic example is said to be condemnatory of ministers who are engaged in the scholastic department of missions.

That the work which the Saviour assigned the apostles was preaching the Gospel, and not the conducting of schools, must be admitted ; but their sacred calling did not interdict business of a secular nature. The little which is recorded of their lives makes this very apparent. St. Paul, in order that he might not be chargeable to his converts, followed the craft of tent-making with Christian friends at Corinth, who were engaged in the same occupation.¹ As it cannot be

¹ Acts xviii. 3.

supposed he was less obedient to the instructions of our Lord than his colleagues, it may be presumed that he did not think those instructions, either expressly or by implication, condemned the course he adopted ; but believed, that plying a mechanical art to gain a subsistence and defray the expense of his travels, that without cost he might spread abroad the news of salvation, was approved by his Divine Master. The justification of his course of action is found in the motive which influenced him to adopt it. The handicraft was not his primary object, but made subservient to it ; nor is instruction in literature, languages, and science, the primary object of missionaries. Education in these branches is wanted and prized by the natives of India ; it is therefore given to secure their attendance, that opportunities may be gained of making known to them the doctrines of redemption.

The Gospel and secular education are not opposed to each other ; the former is the divine instrument of evangelization, and the latter is an important human auxiliary. Secular education loosens the affections of the people from the ancient superstitions of the land. As nearly all branches of it are taught in the higher classes of missionary institutions, it may be reasonably supposed that not a few become respectable scholars. The education which they receive has the direct tendency of showing the folly of Hindooism, and the profound ignorance of its celebrated sages, so that a thorough change, respecting a religion which has been venerated from time immemorial, is eventually produced in the sentiments of a large portion of the pupils. They discover that the principles of true science, and the records of authentic history, falsify the tenets relating to these subjects which are contained in their Shastros. This detection of error in history and science leads them to suspect the truth of their own theology, to despise the dogmas of Brahmonism, and shake off the shackles which held their minds in bondage

to a degrading and demoralizing superstition. Thus, with slow but sure step, they are led to abandon a religion whose social and civil institutes stupefy the understanding, and harden the heart, whose pantheon contains personifications of every vice, and examples more destructive than the plague. So far the influence of such education is beneficial ; it disposes the mind to receive truth instead of error on all subjects of human learning, and brings to light the gross absurdities of a system which were fully believed to be eternal verities. Though 'now under the control of their parents, and therefore possessing very limited influence, ere long these young men will be in circumstances widely different ; they will be the fathers and guardians of the next generation, and, infusing the knowledge derived from Western literature and science into the minds of their children, will cause the tide of opinion to run with an increasing swell against Hindooism and every kindred superstition.

Some good men, however, look to the future with forebodings of evil. As many educated Indian youths have renounced the religion of their fathers, and embraced no purer faith in its stead, they fear the country will be deluged with infidel opinions. In things respecting which revelation does not enlighten our darkness, we can anticipate the future only by reading aright the history of the past, whose pages inform us that since the beginning of the world a nation of infidels has not yet existed ; that there has been but one national attempt to rid the universe of God, and when only partially awoke from her delirium, France called back the Deity, and acknowledged not only His presence, but the duty of attending the solemnities of His worship. A little attention to the workings of the human mind in liberating itself from the dominion of error, will enable us to ascertain the cause of educated Indian youths hesitating to believe the Bible. Guided by the lights of secular learning, they have

been constrained to renounce the religion of their fathers ; they therefore enter on the study of Christianity, resolved to subject everything to the test of reason, and to consider what rises above reason as contrary to it. The powers which demolished the gigantic fabric of superstition are applied to the examination of the Scriptures ; and it is found that while reasoning is destructive to a belief in Hindooism, it is in some measure an impediment to a reception of the Gospel. Persons born and educated in a Christian land, and who have never left its shores, will hardly be able to realise this ; because, in one sense, their religion has always, as it were, formed part of themselves,—it blends itself with their thoughts, feelings, and actions, their manners, customs, and habits, their domestic and public life ; pervades their literature, laws, and Government ; and, in short, attends them from the cradle to the grave. The consequence is that the number of infidels is small ; and most men, though not pious, reverence the Bible as a revelation from heaven, and dispense with many inquiries which a Hindoo is led to make in studying its pages. Everything is foreign to his associations, therefore each step he takes he asks himself the questions, What is the reason of this, on what evidence is it founded, and how can it be proved ? And as there are some things in the Gospel above reason, though not contrary to it, that understandings of the highest order cannot grasp, with reference to which the mind of a Newton and that of a ploughman are on a level, and that must be received, if received at all, with the docility of a child, the sacred volume appears to some educated Hindoos as it did to some learned Greeks, and their rejection of the scheme of redemption which it propounds has the same origin—pride of intellect, and pride of heart. At this we may grieve, but can hardly be surprised ; for to the reception of Christianity the difficulties are marvellously great, and cannot be brought

within the grasp of unaided reason. Can we think of God, who laid the foundations of the earth, spread out the heavens as a curtain, and gave life to all creatures in the universe, taking the form of a babe, and lying in a manger, and say we are able to understand it? Can we see the Saviour nailed to the cross, witness the deep agony of His soul, and His blood shed for the remission of sin, while as God, even amid these scenes of pain and woe, unbounded and uninterrupted felicity glowed within Him, and say we are able to understand it? We cannot do otherwise than agree with the Apostle, "Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh."¹ Here Christians believe and adore, but do not comprehend; not learning, talent, or genius, but faith and love, inspired by the Holy Spirit, lead them to revere the mysteries of redemption. This has been the experience of Christians in India, as elsewhere, and will, it is to be hoped, be the experience of their countrymen who are now seeking the way of salvation.

Infidelity, it should be remembered, is rather a transition state than one of a permanent character. Nor is it peculiar to India; many persons in Europe pass through the regions of doubt and unbelief to a cordial reception of the Gospel, and some who impugned the Bible are now its able defenders. The forces at work in native society are carrying the people in a way, more or less direct, towards Christianity. The progress is slow, and to themselves perhaps imperceptible. One part after another of their ancient faith is abandoned. Most of the persons in the educated classes, now numbering many thousands, are either Vedantists or intuitionist Brohmoists; the former renounce Pooranic idolatry, and the latter set aside the authority of the Vedas. Whither all these changes tend, he who has mingled much in native society, and carefully read what the respective parties have

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 16.

published in exposition of their views, will be at no loss to determine. In their speeches, lectures, books, and manuals of prayer, he finds large importations from the sacred volume. Phrases, opinions, sentiments, moral rules, and trains of reasoning but little altered in language, frequently meet his eye, and numerous instances come under his notice of similar homage paid to excellent Christian compositions of human origin.

It is objected to the system generally adopted in missionary schools that English, though not the sole, is the chief medium of instruction.

The vernacular of every country is almost as necessary to the great body of the people as the food they eat and the air they breathe; in all the affairs of this world, and in those which relate to the next, it is the channel of thought. In the vernaculars of India the historical, doctrinal, and preceptive parts of Christianity—and, indeed, everything else—can be as fully and clearly expressed as in any of the languages of Europe; therefore, as far as religion itself is concerned, a knowledge of English is not necessary either to Hindoos or Mohammedans. It is affirmed that the tendency of the system adopted is to impede and discourage European masters in their study of the vernaculars. Mr. Rogers says: "Generally, an institution is under the superintendence of a missionary. If this superintendence be properly performed, at least four hours a-day are taken up with school-work. If the school be large, then the young missionaries of the station are employed as teachers part of the day. Thus the whole mission-staff are indented upon daily for some portion or other of school-work. Now, any man teaching four hours daily should, at least, calculate on two hours for reading up for that work. I have known young missionaries, fresh from college at home, sit down to the Calcutta Entrance Course and spend at least four hours

daily in preparing for the next day's teaching. At the end of two years such men, as a rule, are very ignorant of the vernacular. All they know is their classes in school, which are the upper ones containing a few pupils. Hence, we see that the young and ardent missionary has his sphere of usefulness contracted to a portion of a school, and with respect to the future his way of usefulness is barred."¹ Admitting the above to be, on the whole, a correct representation of the system adopted in conducting the educational department of missions, that system may not necessarily produce all the evil here attributed to it, for some missionaries, much occupied in schools, have been eminent Oriental scholars, and others eloquent vernacular preachers. It is certainly unwise to thrust upon young missionaries so much school-work as to leave them little or no time to learn the language of the people among whom they live ; for without a knowledge of it they will neither be able to communicate their own thoughts nor understand what is said to them, and will consequently labour under all the disadvantages of persons who are both deaf and dumb. That European masters should learn the vernacular, even though it be not employed as the medium of tuition, since it would enable them to hold closer intercourse with their pupils, and make them more efficient and useful, one would think could hardly admit of any reasonable doubt ; yet some good men have considered its utility not an adequate compensation for the time and trouble of acquiring it, and counselled young missionaries who were engaged in studying it, "to throw it overboard," to quote their own energetic words. They say : "We have long come to the conclusion that it is of no use preaching to the adults of

¹ Paper of C. J. Rogers, Esq., Principal of the Umritseer Normal School, read before the Mission Synod, assembled at Allahabad, in November, 1871 : *Illustrated Missionary News*, 1st April, 1872, p. 40.

Bengal; all efforts should be directed to the education of the young." Such attacks on vernacular preaching are generally made by persons who are ignorant of the native languages, and can hold no direct intercourse with the people; consequently, the opinion which they may form is not entitled to much deference. Facts lend no countenance whatever to it. In the decade between 1852 and 1862, the Barisal mission, which is a preaching one, and had only 115 children under instruction, received into the Church, on a profession of piety, 391 members. The educational missions in Calcutta, whose pupils aggregated 3196, realised, during the same period, an increase of 117 communicants, which, divided by three, the number of the missions, gave an average of 39—hardly more than a tenth of the increase at Barisal.

Appreciating the great importance of the vernacular language, some societies insist upon young missionaries undergoing examinations in it, allow them two years to acquire it, and, in the event of failure, make the dispensing with their further service a subject for grave consideration. Though in Europe, Greek and Latin are taught, and a knowledge of them considered an essential part of the education of the upper classes, they are not made the medium of tuition; all instruction in literature, science, and art is given in the vernacular, and parents would hardly be willing to send their sons to a school or college in which a different course was taken. If the zealous Protestants of Britain resolved to diffuse the doctrines of the Reformation in France by the means of schools, French would be employed to teach the pupils; and if the Catholics of Spain laboured to bring Holland into the Church of Rome, Dutch would be used. If either adopted their own language, and not the vernacular of the country as the channel of communication, it would create surprise. It is therefore asked,

What satisfactory reason can be assigned for making a foreign tongue the medium of instruction in India ?

Perhaps no reason which would be deemed quite satisfactory can be offered, but this may be affirmed, that missionaries are in no way responsible for the system ; they did not introduce it, nor have they any power to abolish it. As stated in a previous page, the English language was introduced into the schools and colleges of India, and made the chief medium of instruction, by an order of the Governor-General in Council ; but the real origin of the change must be sought elsewhere,—in the growing desire for the literature and science of Europe, which the higher and middle classes of the people had long cherished ; had they been otherwise disposed, the order would have become a dead letter. If they were somewhat influenced by self-interest, it can hardly be a matter of surprise. In all nations there are, it is true, a few who accumulate knowledge from an ardent love of it, and with no ulterior object in view. In countries which have been long prosperous and in a high state of civilization, the number of such persons is gradually augmenting ; but this noble feeling is often blended with one of a less elevated character, and learning is pursued as a means of worldly advancement. The most remunerating knowledge in India is an acquaintance with the English language. In all the departments of the Government service, in the learned professions, and in every branch of trade and commerce, its use is daily extending, and by lucrative places the acquisition of it is substantially rewarded. The monetary profit it yields accounts for so many thousands studying it.

As the State and missionary societies have different ends in view, from the partial failure of the former to accomplish its designs, the failure of the latter does not necessarily follow. The object of the State in establishing schools is to educate the people, and this can never be thoroughly and

extensively done, except through the vernaculars. Education is the secondary object of missionary societies in establishing schools, and made subservient to their primary one—which is, to make the people Christians. The secular education which the natives want and prize, is given to secure their attendance, that opportunities may be gained of imparting scriptural knowledge to them. In every institution a portion of each day is devoted to the Bible, and the scheme of redemption propounded in its pages. If among the students the doctrines of the Cross and the rules of an exalted piety be not always cordially approved, and something like antipathy be exhibited, it must be remembered that this is the case, and perhaps not less frequently, when the Gospel is proclaimed from the pulpit, and in the streets and lanes of the city ; which proves that, however modified by circumstances, human nature, in its great characteristic features, is the same in every country and age, and requires a divine power to create it anew. Had many years been spent on schools without any of the pupils being converted, those engaged in conducting them might doubt the propriety of the course they are pursuing, but in nearly every institution some have renounced idolatry, and openly professed the Christian faith ; and among eminently useful teachers, catechists, and ordained ministers, converts from schools occupy a distinguished place. Not only in institutions in which religion is taught, but even in those from which it is excluded, pupils have renounced their ancestral faith, and become disciples of Christ. Indeed, Christianity so permeates Western literature, science, and art, that it is hardly possible to advance far in learning without becoming more or less acquainted with the Bible and the way of redemption made known in its pages, and the knowledge thus obtained leads to further thought and inquiry. Mohesh Chandro Ghose, Kali Kumar Ghose, Joygopal Dutt, Beni Madhob

Mujamdar, Gopee Nath Mondee, and Krishno Mohan Banerjee, all zealous in missionary labours, were pupils in secular institutions—in the Calcutta School Society's Institution, the Medical College, the Hindoo College, or Mr. Hare's School. Who, it may be asked, was Mr. Hare? David Hare was a native of Scotland, and by trade a watchmaker. He came to Calcutta in the year 1800. Having, by diligence and probity, obtained a competence, he retired from business, and devoted the remainder of his life to the laudable purpose of promoting the material, intellectual, and moral improvement of the youths of Bengal; and there was but one subject of regret concerning him,—he was not on the side of Christianity. At the public examination of all colleges and schools, both the religious and the secular, he was sure to be present, taking a lively interest in the proceedings. With him the education of the people became an absorbing passion, waxing stronger and stronger. Nor was it unappreciated. Thousands regarded him with filial love, and at his death felt they had lost a father. He died of cholera, on the 1st of June, 1842, aged sixty-seven years, and was buried in the Hindoo College Square, where a monument, with his statue placed on it, was erected by the native community, expressive of their veneration and gratitude. Still some Europeans, probably not less ill-natured than ill-informed, declare the natives of India have no gratitude, and are even incapable of the feeling. This grave charge, often refuted before, is again refuted by their reverent and affectionate remembrance of David Hare. His name is a household word, and will continue to be so not only with the present generation, but with their children's children. It is associated with many tender memories of faithful, earnest admonitions to restore rich delinquents to virtuous courses; of loving, helpful, compassionate deeds in the homes of the poor and the friendless.

To make education a substitute for the Gospel is little less erroneous than to allow it no influence whatever in facilitating the work of evangelization. The greatest mistake ever made is to regard schools and preaching as antagonistic,—they are friendly and indispensable to each other. Besides good vernacular schools in the surrounding villages, every mission located in a city or large town should have an English institution of a high grade. The establishment of a mere elementary school in the neighbourhood of superior ones conducted under the auspices of the State or of private gentlemen, will not answer the object contemplated by missionary societies. That object is to bring boys and young men under the influence of Christian teaching, hoping it may be blessed to their conversion; but, as both Hindoos and Mohammedans come to missionary schools to be prepared at a small expense to fill lucrative situations and rise in life, and have nothing of a higher character in view, their attendance cannot be secured without giving them, in addition to religious instruction, the secular education which they want and prize. This is the principle on which missionary schools were at first established, and on which they continue to be conducted. It is, it will be said, the principle of expedience; this is readily admitted. But was it not on the same principle that St. Paul worked at tent-making in the city of Corinth? And if in his case the labour were dignified by the motive which led him to resort to it, is it not allowable to the clergy of the present day to impart secular knowledge to gain opportunities of speaking of the glorious things of an immortal life? Is it consistent to praise the apostle, and in the same breath blame those who are animated by his spirit?

The necessity for the scholastic labours of missionaries is doubted.

It is contended that education would be carried on were ministers not to engage in it, and devote the whole of their time to the preaching of the Gospel. For though vast numbers attend missionary institutions, yet it is not owing to their being agencies for the propagation of religious truth, but to the excellent education which is given in them being cheap. Both Hindoos and Mohammedans go to missionary schools not because they prefer them to others, but because they can be prepared at a small expense to fill lucrative situations, and rise in life;—for the sake of the secular learning to be obtained, they submit to listen to the religious instruction which is given.¹ In this there is nothing peculiar,—many people in other countries are governed by no higher motives, and in the same circumstances would adopt a similar course. For instance, were an excellent classical, mathematical, and commercial academy opened by Roman Catholics in any city or town in England at which the fees were only a tenth of the sum paid in Protestant institutions, it is probable, nay, almost certain, that notwithstanding the character of the religious teaching, it would command a large number of pupils; for, generally speaking, parents feel a more lively interest in their children getting on in this world than in their preparation for the next. They would not wish them to believe the dogmas of Popery, but, fully aware of the danger of their doing it, they would run the risk for the sake of obtaining for them, on the lowest pecuniary terms, a good secular education. The cheapness of the academy would be the secret of its success, and it is the secret of the success of the missionary schools in the cities and towns of India.

¹ The impatience and restlessness exhibited by students in missionary schools while under Christian instruction have been brought before the Calcutta Missionary Conference, and how to obviate them and produce a better state of feeling made the subject of inquiry.

Hindoo parents, like others, are influenced by worldly principles, and in securing temporal advantages pay as little regard to the lessons of the Vedas as nominal Christians pay to the instructions of the Bible. They have no desire that their sons should become Christians, and would consider their conversion a great calamity ; yet they willingly send them to missionary institutions, though they know Christianity is daily taught, and there is consequently a danger of their imbibing its spirit, and renouncing the religion of their fathers. The reason of their conduct is found in the cheapness of the education, which costs little more than a third of the amount paid in Government seminaries. Were it raised to the same sum, parents would withdraw their children ; for, with no pecuniary advantage to gain, they would no longer expose them to the danger of being turned from their ancestral faith,—and consequently most missionary schools would have to be closed for the want of pupils. But while they continue to be what they are at present, excellent and cheap institutions, the number attending them, instead of diminishing, will be always increasing.

The cost of the scholastic department of missions is urged as an objection against it.

Missionary societies expend on their colleges and schools in India about £70,000 a year, besides the amount which they receive in fees and Government grants.

As the sacred Scriptures and non-inspired Christian books greatly facilitate the spread of the Gospel in heathen countries, and at the same time confirm, strengthen, and guide the converts in their newly-adopted faith, teaching the art of reading will be allowed to be the province of missionary societies, and the money expended on it worthily laid out. But as the weekly subscriptions of artisans, factory people, husbandmen, and Sunday-school children,

form a large portion of the income of missionary societies, the question is raised, Is it a right appropriation of these offerings to devote them to the diffusion of scientific and polite learning, that Hindoos and Mohammedans may be prepared for university degrees? Is it in accordance with reason or Scripture, to require the labouring poor, who live by the sweat of their brow, to contribute out of their scanty earnings towards the secular instruction of persons who are able to pay for their education themselves, some of whom ride to missionary institutions in palanquins, gigs, and carriages? There can be but one answer. The gifts of the labouring poor to foreign missions ought not to be thus applied; and if common-sense and a spirit untinctured with bigotry be allowed to guide evangelistic efforts, a temptation to such misappropriation can never present itself. Secular education will be the means not only of destroying error and diffusing sound knowledge, but will cease to be a monetary burden, and may even yield a profit. If all sections of the Church crowd to the city or town where success has been realised, and, in numbers out of proportion to the real wants of the people, open English schools, the cost will be very great. Pupils will be drawn from the long-established flourishing institutions to fill the new ones, and as this can hardly be done by offering a superior education, it must be accomplished by a reduction of fees, which are already much too low, consequently though there be no more scholars, the expenditure may go on every year increasing. To prevent this waste of the funds of the Church, let missionary societies forego the ignoble work of rivalry, and commence schools only where they are needed—and there are thousands of such localities, —the fees will then admit of being augmented at stated periods, and in the course of time, sufficient income will be obtained to defray most, if not the whole, of the charges.

As in the comparative smallness of the fees lies the inducement to natives to attend religious institutions, they must be regulated by the pecuniary means of the middle and the poorer classes, and can probably never exceed half the amount paid in Government seminaries. If a few boys, sons of wealthy parents, come to be educated, and instead of walking, ride in carriages, they cannot be rejected, nor with prudence can any financial rule which is in force be altered or rescinded to suit their special case ; and as the object contemplated is to bring, if possible, all ranks under the influence of Christian teaching, their presence is an event to be welcomed rather than deprecated.

The scholastic department of missions, in receiving grants of money from the State, is subject to a measure of State control which is pronounced to be a hindrance to the diffusion of the Gospel.

This connection with the Government, it is said, limits the freedom of missionaries as to the course of study to be pursued in their schools, and the time to be apportioned to the respective branches of learning. In the curriculum, a more prominent position is assigned to what is secular than to what is of a sacred character. Absorbed in the secular subjects, which promise honours and substantial rewards, the pupils if not hostile, which is sometimes the case, are nearly always indifferent to Bible instruction, and, considering the time devoted to it as lost to the great object which they have in view, bestow upon it as little attention as possible. The missionaries, anxious, on the one hand, to promote the spiritual welfare of the pupils, and, on the other, to see them distinguished in the university examinations, feel distracted by interests of a conflicting nature. By the standing of the pupils in the university examinations the reputation of an institution rises and falls in the opinion of the public, and as successful competition for degrees

certificates, and pecuniary prizes depends solely on attainments in literature and science, and not at all on scriptural knowledge, there is a temptation to make one of first and the other of secondary importance. To this temptation the scholars wholly yield themselves, and the teachers, though they be the best of men, can hardly help being more or less influenced by it. Thus, connection with the Government tends to secularise missionary institutions, and consequently lessens their value as agencies for propagating the Christian religion. This is acknowledged and deplored by most of the ministers engaged in the scholastic department of missions, as may be seen by turning to their papers and speeches contained in the report of the conferences held in Madras, Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad, and Lahore.

But, admitting connection with Government tends to secularise, and therefore lessens the value of missionary schools as agencies for propagating the Christian religion, yet the severing of that connection would produce a result little contemplated by those who advocate the step to be taken. To see clearly the tendency of such a grave step, it will be necessary to know the views which the people form of education, and what the Government, after much neglect, is now doing for them.

The area of British India, measuring 897,608 square miles, contains a male population of 104,432,227.

Those under instruction number . 2,487,697¹

And those not under instruction,

but able to read and write, . . . 6,310,273

8,797,970²

The number of uneducated males amounts to 95,634,257

Total male population, . . . 104,432,227

¹ Including 42,007 girls attending boys' schools.

² Report of the Indian Education Commission of the year 1883, p. 27.

The proportion to the total male population of those under instruction is 1 in 42; and the proportion to the total male population of those who can read and write but are not under instruction, is 1 in 16.¹

The course of education prescribed by the State is sanctioned by the people, and the honours awarded are highly prized; they raise the holder in the estimation of the public, facilitate his entrance into the Government service, and into the professions of law, medicine, and engineering. Hence the examinations which precede the bestowal of them have acquired an extraordinary degree of importance. Speaking on the 7th of March, 1866, on the assembling of the convocation of the Calcutta University for conferring degrees, the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Henry Summer Maine, said: "The thing must be seen to be believed. I do not know which was more astonishing, more striking,—the multitude of the students, who, if not now, will soon have to be counted, not by the hundred, but by the thousand; or the keenness and eagerness which they displayed. For my part, I do not think anything of the kind has been seen by any European university since the Middle Ages; and I doubt whether there is anything founded by, or connected with the British Government in India, which excites so much practical interest in native households of the better class, from Calcutta to Lahore, as the examinations of this university." Now there are universities in Madras, Bombay, Allahabad, and Lahore. At matriculation examinations, papers have been set in as many as nine languages, besides English, which shows that the tendency of universities is to encourage vernacular education, as well as the diffusion of literature and science through the medium of a foreign tongue. In 1881-82, at the entrance examinations of

¹ Report of the Indian Education Commission of the year 1883, p. 27.

the Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Ponjab universities, 8285 candidates presented themselves. In the same year the students who obtained the degrees of F.A., B.A., and M.A., numbered 1099.¹ Whether stimulated by a passion for learning, or by nothing more elevated than a determination to get on in the world, their desire to gain university distinctions grows stronger and stronger.

Such being the state of things, it must be the dictate of wisdom to make the best of it. Missionaries are not in a position to determine what branches of learning shall be taught, but are asked whether they will give the kind of education which will be accepted; if they refuse, their institutions will be deserted, the pupils will go elsewhere to be prepared for the university examinations, attend schools in which religion is ignored. Then 131,244² students who, for a longer or shorter time, are now taught in the sacred Scriptures, will cease to be so. This would be deplored throughout the whole of Christendom. Let us hope the step likely to bring it about will never be taken, and that the Church will continue to support, and with increased vigour, the scholastic department of missions, which has everywhere been, more or less, divinely blessed in the conversion of souls.

¹ Report of the Indian Education Commission of the year 1883, pp. 272, 297.

² STUDENTS.	1851	1861	1871	1881
In India, . . .	52,850	60,026	95,521	131,244
In Burma, . . .	No Returns	4,802	5,229	7,223
In Ceylon, . . .	11,005	10,047	10,622	30,531
Total, .	63,855	74,875	111,372	168,998

² Statistical Table of 1881 of Protestant Missions, p. 14.

Some gentlemen in America and Europe, not sparing, but liberal in their gifts to every object they deem worthy of support, have raised a cry against schools and against their devoted teachers, representing the one as, in a religious point of view, nearly, if not quite useless, and the other as engaged in labours foreign to the missionary character. Could these gentlemen, who are actuated by the best of motives, know what it is to be educated in the filth of heathenism, how it debases the mind and fills it with the foulest images, which flutter before it through the whole of life, and which no after training can entirely remove, they would see the importance of pre-occupying the mind with Christian principles, and saturating it with Christian knowledge; could they witness in the interior of the country, far away from the metropolis, the effects of schools in mitigating this tremendous evil, they would be less assured, and have some misgivings about the correctness of the judgment which they have pronounced; could they hear the pupils relate their experience,—tell how, when in the class listening to the scriptural lesson, they were awakened by the Holy Spirit, led to mourn over sin, and believe in the Redeemer; hear them speak of their trials in renouncing the religion of their fathers (of which the most intelligent European residents can form but a very faint conception); and see them now, some, in the ordinary avocations of life, performing their duty with diligence and honour; others, teachers, catechists, and pastors, much beloved for their character and labours; and the memory of the dead, who bore the burden and heat of the day, affectionately cherished,—they would not only cease to be against schools, but be disposed to think that it is scarcely possible to form too high an opinion of the influence they are exerting on the work of evangelization, and be thankful to God for raising up men who conduct them with so much ability.

CHAPTER XIV.

NATIVE CHRISTIANS.

PREACHING is admitted to be a divine institution. Whatever questions may have been propounded about the scriptural nature of other modes of promoting the spiritual welfare of men, none has been raised concerning this,—from the most remote age to the present day, its sacred character has continued undisputed ; but it is not, as is sometimes represented, antagonistic to education, nor will any person who is acquainted with the state and wants of India ever deem it so ; such an individual will consider that schools are important auxiliaries in bringing about the moral and religious amelioration of the country. The converts they have already been the means of producing have generally been young men of respectable attainments and good position in society ; some of them are engaged in business, and by a consistent deportment honour the Gospel ; others are evangelists, or preside over native churches, and by their ministry have greatly contributed to the enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom.

Before proceeding further, it may be proper to say a word or two about India itself. It has an area of one million two hundred and fifty thousand square miles ; climates ranging in variety from the torrid to the frigid zone, intense heat and intense cold, sun-scorched plains and

mountains covered with perpetual snow ; its population forms almost a fifth of the human race ; its laws, customs, and fashions which are observed to-day, have been observed several thousand years. When our forefathers went unclad, painted their bodies, and lived the lives of savages, India had a knowledge of letters, manufactured the finest cloth, and was in a high state of civilisation ; yet the gods of this wondrous land are of clay, wood, and stone,—so Christianity is as much needed as in the darkest places of the earth ; but the mere thought of diffusing it among the people created at one time great alarm. The consequence, it was feared, would be rebellion and the overthrow of British rule ; therefore missionaries were forbidden to preach in our territories ; some were deported, and others found an asylum in the Danish settlement of Serampore.¹ On the occasion of renewing the charter of the East India Company, in the year 1813, Parliament removed the prohibition, and allowed missionaries to disseminate the Christian religion.

What has been the result of missions ? “A nation has not been born at once,”² but a gradually increasing number of souls has been gathered into the fold of Christ. Of the progress of missions in the early period of their history in the Presidency of Bengal, full and accurate information cannot be obtained, because some Churches did not always mention in their reports the number of persons they had baptised and received into Christian fellowship ; consequently, more conversions took place than were known to the public, but how many more no one can now tell. Under the ministry of the Rev. John Zachariah Kiernander,

¹ Serampore is on the western bank of the Hooghly, about twelve miles to the north of Calcutta. In the year 1845, the Danes sold Serampore to the English, and also Tranquebar, situated on the Coromandel Coast.

² Isaiah xvi. 8.

who came from Cuddalore to Calcutta in 1758, a Christian community was formed, whom he taught in the vernacular, and that, in 1776, numbered 684 persons, but whether all, or only a portion of these were communicants, is not stated. Mr. Kiernander was a man of property, and not only rich but munificent,—he built a church, at a cost of seven thousand five hundred pounds, in which he preached in English to the European residents. In his congregation might be seen the Governor-General, the Members of Council, the judges, magistrates, merchants, and seamen and soldiers, with their respective officers. This sacred edifice still bears the name then given it, Mission Church, and the adjacent street is called Mission Row. Being surety for his son, who failed as a builder, Mr. Kiernander's wealth was eventually taken from him. In his honourable poverty he was made chaplain of Chinsurah, where he ministered to the people in the Dutch language, and was much beloved. He died in Calcutta, at the advanced age of eighty-eight, after a residence in India of nearly sixty years.

From 1793, when the Serampore missionaries commenced their labours, to 1845, the communicants amounted to 3096, and the annual increase averaged 59. The relative proportion which communicants then bore to the congregation cannot be ascertained,—it was probably very large. It is now only about a fourth, because in numerous Christian families all the sons and daughters have not yet become members of churches. In the early history of missions such families did not exist.

In India, Burma, and Ceylon the number of native Christians¹ is at present 528,590, and that of communicants 145,097.

However, as success must be estimated not so much by the number as by the character of converts, the following

¹ See Tables on following page.

question will naturally suggest itself to every inquiring mind, What evidence do those who have entered the Church afford of true piety? Respecting their moral qualities different opinions are held, and this must necessarily be the case, because the conclusions arrived at greatly depend on the point from which the reasoning begins. If compared with the divine standard, the example of Christ, they fall, like other people, much below it; but this admission

NATIVE CHRISTIANS.				
	1851	1861	1871	1881
In India, . . .	91,092	138,731	224,258	417,372
In Burma, . . .	No Return	59,366	62,729	75,510
In Ceylon, . . .	11,859	15,273	31,376	35,708
Total,	102,951	213,370	318,363	528,590
COMMUNICANTS.				
	1851	1861	1871	1881
In India, . . .	14,661	24,976	52,816	113,325
In Burma, . . .	No Return	18,439	20,514	24,929
In Ceylon, . . .	2,645	3,859	5,164	6,843
Total, .	17,306	47,274	78,494	145,097

Statistical Tables of 1881 of Protestant Missions, p. xiii. The Roman Catholic population in India and Ceylon, including both Europeans and Natives,—and in Northern India European soldiers form the bulk of it,—is computed to be about a million.

does not enable us to form any definite opinion concerning them. The subject must be looked at from another point of view. When compared with the heathen living around them, from whom they came on making a profession of Christianity, are they found to be superior? In truthfulness, rectitude, purity, and compassion to suffering humanity they rise much above them. Persons guilty of gross crimes are as rarely to be found among them as among the communicants in the Churches of Britain, and the appearance of one in a court of justice to be tried for a breach of the laws would excite great astonishment; yet the daily occurrence of hundreds of Hindoos and Mohammedans being convicted and punished creates no surprise whatever. That in the moral proprieties of life they are in an eminent degree superior to the followers of the prophet and disciples of Brohma will be admitted by all who know them.

It may be affirmed that as a body they have been uninfluenced by worldly considerations, have, in temporal matters, rather lost than gained by making a profession of the Gospel, and foresaw this would be the consequence of renouncing the religion of their fathers. In following the convictions of conscience they have withstood the prayers and expostulations of weeping parents, of brothers and sisters, which often weaken the purposes of strong men, and turn them from the course of action upon which they were resolved to enter. In breaking the chains of caste, leaving friends, kindred, and home for ever, they have afforded one of the best proofs of sincerity which could possibly be furnished. Generally speaking, they show a great interest in each others' welfare by the performance of kind offices,—every person, from whatever quarter in India he may come, if known to belong to any Christian community, is sure to be welcomed as a guest, and entertained in the most hospitable manner the means of his host will permit. In

this friendly social intercourse, in supplying the wants of the needy, comforting the troubled in mind, and attending on the sick and the dying, affectionate sympathy prompts them to do all that lies in their power. Thus, of one of the essentials of the Christian character, the love of the brethren, they afford very pleasing evidence, and the entire absence of a sectarian spirit among them is what is not always to be seen in religious communities at home. Most of them are poor, and consequently able to give to religious and other objects only very small sums. I know a Christian village where, with three exceptions, the average earnings of the families that compose it do not exceed four shillings a-week ; and in villages where agricultural labourers are better off, the average earnings of families are rarely double that amount. In such circumstances, however liberally disposed, their offerings in money cannot be large. The few well-conditioned among them, and they are only few, may have been wanting in benevolence, spent less in supporting Christianity than they did on Hindoo rites and ceremonies, and therefore cannot be exonerated from blame, but they now contribute to the payment of the salaries of pastors, the funds of missions and works of charity, and every year witnesses an increase in the sums devoted to these and similar purposes.

CONTRIBUTIONS (IN THE YEAR, NOT DECADE.)

	1851	1861	1871	1881
		R	R	R
In India, .	No Returns	About 40,000	85,121	121,929
In Burma, .	"	" 12,000	42,736	69,170
In Ceylon, .	"	" 8,000	31,267	37,418
Total, .		60,000	159,124	228,517 ¹

¹ Statistical Tables of 1881 of Protestant Missions, p. xiii.

Conversion, it may however be said, is not mere generosity ; it is not mere reformation of manners, nor is it a mere routine of ceremonies ; it is a work of heavenly origin ; and of such conversion, wrought by a Divine Power, the native Christians of India afford in their life evidence of a satisfactory nature. They grieve over sin, revere God, and strive to keep His commandments. To spiritual joy they are not strangers. It appears in the language which they use when speaking of the Saviour, His love, and service ; in the devout thoughts and feelings poured out in prayer ; and in the hymns written for the house of God, which, though not always equal in style to the finished compositions of the bards of the sanctuary at home, are not inferior in those qualities which render the anthem acceptable to Him in whose praise it is sung. It is also manifest in seasons of trouble ; for trials which nearly overwhelm their Hindoo and Mohammedan neighbours they bear with some degree of composure. I have heard the sick, even while suffering great bodily pain, speak of the realization of this sacred joy, and seen it beaming in the countenance when the tongue failed to give it utterance, and the spirit was passing away. To give some idea of their hymns, which express fervent love to the Redeemer, and the full hope of eternal life, two verses, though they suffer in being translated into English, may be here quoted from that well-known hymn, composed by Krishno Pal,¹ beginning, “ Je jon apon pran deya papi oodhari ” :—

“ O thou, my soul, forget no more
The Man who all thy misery bore ;
Let every idol be forgot,
But, O my soul, forget Him not !

¹ This, and the translation of another native hymn, are given in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, December, 1846, page 873. This pro-

“ Ah, no ! till life itself depart,
His name shall cheer and warm my heart ;
And lisping this, from earth I'll rise,
And join the chorus in the skies.”

Surrounded with paganism, they have to resist its enthralling power. That Hindooism possesses such power is evident from its having subjected to its dominion so large a portion of the human race. Its festivals are seasons not only for the performance of religious ceremonies, but for family gatherings, gaiety, and joy ; yet neither its social, its austere, nor its licentious rites move converts from their steadfastness. They eschew idolatry in every form. Few apostatised in the most terrible of national calamities ; only six did so during the Mutiny. Then native Christians died, like their European brethren, animated with the spirit of the ancient martyrs. Such triumphant love and enduring faith, in sorrow, agony, and death, diffused holy joy through all Churches in America and Europe ; for in no previous great national calamity, testing the sincerity and the fortitude of Christians, had there been so few apostates and so many heroic souls. In England, during the reign of Mary, thousands changed their religion to save their lives, and on her death changed it again to avoid persecution.

It is, however, important to remember that uniformity in the developments of the inner religious life of native Christians does not necessarily follow from the reality of their conversion. The appearance of virtue in different

duction of Krishno Pal has found favour in England, especially among his Baptist brethren. It forms the 176th hymn of the book used by the Rev. C. Spurgeon's and other congregations. Krishno Pal was the first convert of the Serampore missionaries, and was baptised in the year 1800. Eminent piety and zealous labours distinguished the whole of his Christian career, which caused him to be much honoured and loved.

degrees is compatible with true piety, and strict uniformity in its outward manifestations is hardly to be expected. The formation of the Christian spirit and character is a gradual work. In England, it is facilitated by the services of the sanctuary, the instruction and example of parents, by education, the state of society, the literature, laws, and government of the country, and especially by public opinion—a teacher that speaks with more authority than kings. These separate agencies, acting for centuries on individuals and the collective body of the nation, have largely contributed not only to check the progress of vice, but to form and elevate the character of religious men. The members of the Church of India, like those of the primitive Churches that came from the Gentile world, never felt the power of these agencies. The domestic and social life which they led prior to their conversion, generally speaking, rather vitiated than improved them. Public opinion, as far as it may be said to have existed, was nearly always on the side of evil. The tendency of the instruction which they received, whether given by example or precept, was to confuse and degrade the mind by presenting to it low and conflicting views of moral duties. Laws claimed their obedience which have a sliding scale of punishments, and lay the heaviest upon the ignorant and the poor, who are most to be pitied; laws framed not to secure an impartial administration of justice, but to subject one class to another, the people to the dominion of the Brahmons. They saw that the commission of certain crimes was allowed, and even praised, while an easy atonement removed the guilt of others; but a simple breach of etiquette, relating to the institution of caste, hardly admitted of pardon in this life or in the next. The influence of such institutions and laws Christians may long continue to feel. To this influence may be traced some of those imperfections in the members of the primitive

Churches of which the apostles complain in the letters they addressed to them. Recollections of the doctrines, rites, and impurities of heathenism, which they could not drive away, now and then rising up in the mind, lowered the tone of thought and feeling, and thus retarded the progress of their spiritual improvement. This influence has not affected the character of Christians in Britain during many centuries; and in a few generations it will cease to be felt in India. The religion of the Brahmons, like that of the Druids, will be effaced from the memory of the people.

That spirit of enterprise and boldness which animates a nation long accustomed to freedom was crushed in India by ages of subjection to tyranny; and only in a very gradual way can it be revived under the just and clement rule of the British. Hence native catechists and ministers have in some degree the infirmities of their countrymen; they are timid, afraid of difficulties, distrustful of themselves, and disposed to rely on others, and therefore seldom exhibit that energy and enthusiasm in propagating the Gospel which are shown by the converts of some other nations. Their religion is rather of a retiring than of a demonstrative character, but it is not the less real; for, though allowed only a pittance compared with the salaries they might obtain in secular employment, yet, with rare exceptions, they continue to pursue their sacred calling, patiently bear the reproach of the cross, and faithfully proclaim its doctrines to the close of their lives. The following, distinguished for ability, piety, and devotedness, who have finished their course, and whose memories are affectionately cherished, I had the privilege to know: Soojaatali, Radhanath, Gongadhor, Mobindro Lal Baisak, and Koilas Chondro Mookerjee. Among the living, there are men, like them, possessing much of the mind of Christ, and doing good service in their respective spheres of labour.

In India, native Christians now number . . .	417,372
Communicants,	113,345
Churches or Congregations,	3,650
Foreign and Eurasian ordained ¹ agents,	586
Native ordained agents,	461
Native lay preachers,	2,488
Foreign and Eurasian lay preachers,	72 ²

In 1812, the Government of India expelled missionaries from the country, apprehending their preaching would lead to breaches of the peace, anarchy, and war. After watching their proceedings for sixty years, a period long enough to form a correct judgment, what a change has taken place in its opinion ! It now says it "cannot but acknowledge the great obligation under which it is laid, by the benevolent exertions made by the missionaries, whose blameless example and self-denying labours are infusing new vigour into the stereotyped life of the great populations placed under English rule, and preparing them to be in every way better men and better citizens of the great Empire in which they dwell."³

¹ Eurasians are the descendants of European fathers and native mothers.

² Statistical Tables of 1881 of Protestant Missions, p. xiii.

³ Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the Year 1871-72, printed by the order of the House of Commons, pp. 128, 129.

CHAPTER XV.

ITINERATING.

BESIDES preaching at their stations and in the immediate neighbourhood, missionaries and catechists visit distant parts of the country, where they promulgate the Gospel. The months which I have spent in camp would make in the aggregate about five years.

MANNER OF PROCEEDING.

We take provisions with us, and also a tent to live in, because there are no houses on the way in which we can find accommodation. The tent and baggage are conveyed from stage to stage in carts drawn by oxen. In the immediate vicinity of cities and towns the roads are formed of substantial materials, and kept in good condition, but in the rural districts they are composed of earth, raised a little higher than the adjacent ground. Travelling on them after heavy rain is slow and difficult. In some places the oxen sink up to the knees in mud, and the cart has to be helped on by men putting their shoulders to the wheels. It is, however, only now and then we are thus impeded on our journeys, for in the cold season, the usual period for itinerating, we are generally favoured with fine weather. The length of our stay in the respective localities where we encamp is regulated by circumstances, and may vary from

two or three to ten days. We go out in the morning to the towns and villages within a distance of four or five miles, and in the afternoon to those which are nearer, and in marching from one encampment to another, visit the hamlets situated on the road. The places of preaching are many and various, being in the streets, lanes, bazaars, markets, and fairs, under the shade of trees, at public ghats, on the banks of rivers, and near celebrated Hindoo temples and Mohammedan mosques; and, when invited, which is sometimes the case, in the verandas, courtyards, and halls of the houses of native gentlemen. We generally commence with reading part of a tract or a portion of Scripture, or making a few casual remarks on common topics; but if we find the attention of the people fixed, we begin by giving an explanation of a particular passage or fundamental doctrine of the Bible, which is heard without interruption, or numerous questions are asked concerning it, with the view, it may be, of removing doubts, or gaining additional information. Sometimes, however, the truth of our statements is denied, when a discussion ensues, which is nearly always conducted on the part of the natives in respectful language, and without the least manifestation of angry feeling,—the occasions are rare on which they give way to passion. Persons belonging to hostile sects will now and then argue against each other, and severely censure those parts of Hindooism to which they themselves are not attached; and some individuals will even point out with force and boldness the evils pertaining to the whole system, and contend for the superiority of the Gospel, declare that its doctrines and precepts are more conducive to the welfare of man than those which are taught in their own shastros. Forty years ago the state of things was different, the people were less favourably disposed to listen, and outbursts of rage not unfrequently happened.

CONGREGATIONS.

According to the parts of the country being thinly or densely inhabited, the number of our hearers is large or small, varying from a few individuals to seven or eight hundred persons. They consist of all ranks and conditions, but the greater portion is formed of those who are actually or comparatively poor. In fairs and crowded markets we divide ourselves into several parties, and have at the same time as many congregations, which collectively may comprise between one and two thousand people. The fairs have a religious origin, being established to commemorate the wonderful achievement of some saint or god, and bowing before his shrine, thousands supplicate the special benefits for the reputed bestowal of which he has become renowned, but most persons in attending them have no higher object in view than to do business or make holiday. From the fatigue of travelling, exposure to the heat, and sleeping at night in the open air, stretched on the ground and wet with the dew, many sicken and die. The assembly of such multitudes for days, and sometimes for weeks, leads to much improper intercourse. So well is this understood by the proprietors of the land on which the fairs are held, that a large space is allotted for the erection of booths of pleasure, and a high rent received from it out of the wages of iniquity.

DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS.

The books which we take with us consist of tracts, separate portions and entire copies of the Scriptures, printed in several languages. In the mind of every one interested in the evangelization of heathen lands the following question will naturally arise, Are the books read? It is impossible to speak with certainty respecting every individual book, but from circumstances which come under

our notice, we have reason to believe that the sacred volume is examined, and in a measure appreciated, both by Hindoos and Mohammedans, because they raise objections and make inquiries of a character which show they have carefully perused its pages ; often quote long passages from it, and correctly state its leading doctrines, and sometimes refer to the chapter and verse bearing on the subject under discussion. Entire copies of the Old and New Testaments we sell, but to the poor, who are unable to purchase, and to those who are perfectly unacquainted with the Christian faith, and have consequently no inducement to buy, we present a small part of the Word of God, gratuitously distribute single gospels and other portions of the Scriptures. There are, it is to be feared, yet many millions in India who have never heard even the name of the Redeemer, and to whom the Bible is an unknown book. Thus enveloped in gross darkness, it is scarcely reasonable to expect they will be disposed to purchase the sacred volume when its doctrines are preached to them for the first time. It may be said, if the article for sale be worth buying it will find a market. However appropriate such language may be to the affairs of commerce, it is inapplicable to the affairs of the soul. Temporal wants are known and felt by all ages and classes, and the instincts of nature lead us to use proper means to supply them ; spiritual wants are unknown and unfelt, till we come under the operation of a divine power ; and in proportion to the magnitude of our necessities is our ignorance and insensibility. It is the avowed object of Christians to remove darkness by emitting light ; not merely to give a few verbal directions which may be soon forgotten, but to place in the hands of the heathen a written guide which they may open and consult at every stage in their journey through life ; to withhold a gospel, when they are unable from poverty, or unwilling from ignorance of its worth, to give its pecu-

niary value, is to leave them to grope their way in the dark, with little hope of ever reaching heaven. The tracts, embodying the grand fundamental doctrines of redemption, and breathing an unsectarian spirit, are excellent epitomes of the Christian faith, and have been eminently useful in the conversion of souls. Some being much distinguished for vigour, elegance, and chaste simplicity, are read with equal pleasure in the hovels of the poor and the dwellings of the rich; particular ones are frequently asked for, and persons desirous of possessing them, should we have left their neighbourhood, sometimes come a long way to camp to obtain them. We, of course, give books to those only who can read; and, if doubtful of their ability to do it, ask them to peruse a line or two before the present be made. Among the rural population the number of readers is small. Sometimes there are not more than three or four in a large village. Indeed, the advantages of education are placed within the reach of only a very few of the peasantry. On one journey, out of 446 villages which we visited, 211 had no schools, nor were there any means of instruction at a convenient distance; on another, out of 209 places, 159 were thus situated; and on a third, out of 327, the number equally destitute was 239. Details of a similar character might be adduced which would fill pages, but these may be sufficient to prove that education is in a very backward state, and being so, it presents a great impediment to every part of the work of evangelisation, especially to the diffusion of the sacred Scriptures, for were this wide-spread ignorance of the art of reading removed, where there is now only one, a hundred copies of the Bible might be put in circulation.

SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE.

Nearly everywhere the people are courteous, and pay us little attentions which betoken a spirit of kindness, some-

times send us presents of flowers, fruit, milk, vegetables, or fish, and on making our appearance in the villages very often manifest, according to their circumstances, a disposition to oblige, by bringing us chairs, stools, rice-mortars, mats, or grain-bags to sit upon. Great numbers both young and old and of all classes visit us in camp, with whom we have long and interesting conversations; some come to show respect, as they would do to any other European strangers; some to have objections answered, difficulties removed, or to hear an explanation of a particular portion of Scripture which they have been reading: and others, begging us to renew the subject on which we happened to speak when in their neighbourhood. In every direction the country is open to the free exercise of Christian effort, and not a single impediment is thrown in the way to arrest the progress of our labours. Whatever may be the hidden sentiments of a few of the sacerdotal order who are apprehensive that the diffusion of scriptural knowledge will in the course of time affect the revenues of their shrines, temples, and mosques, even these show not the least violence either in their demeanour or language, persons of all creeds and classes give us a friendly reception. We meet with considerable numbers of young men who have been educated in missionary institutions, and are generally well pleased with their deportment and conversation. They speak affectionately of the ministers under whom they have been instructed, and ask for news respecting them and their families. Those of them who are not yet Christians are no longer what they were before they entered Christian schools. For even when education does not immediately result in conversion, it effects a favourable change, and exerts an influence which is felt through life; it expands and elevates the mind, and rectifies the false opinions which are entertained respecting geography, history, physical science, theology, and every other branch of learn-

ing. As the pupil prosecutes his studies, he gradually obtains on all subjects that engage his attention an increase of knowledge, and is thus voluntarily led to throw aside one piece of paganism after another till there is not a fragment left; all belief in his ancestral faith is at last destroyed. He may not take the direct road we could wish, but a roundabout one, and loiter in the regions of deism; yet there is little probability of his remaining there,—stones cannot be substituted for bread, nor can the soul continue to live on negations. This statement is not founded on mere conjecture; I could point to many living proofs in confirmation of its correctness, to native brethren who have passed through a similar state of transition to a cordial reception of the Gospel, and who are now exemplifying its truth and holiness in their lives.

Through the whole length and breadth of the land, from Cape Comorin to the Indus, and from Kurrachee to Assam, the missionary may travel with safety, preaching in all cities, towns, and villages, and will find the people rarely otherwise than civil and friendly, disposed to listen with more or less interest to the doctrines of the Cross.

Is, then, it may be asked, the state of things all that could be wished? It can hardly be pronounced to be so. A real, spiritual work has been done, but it is of very small dimensions compared with what yet remains to be accomplished. The population of India now amounts to 255,891,823. Native Christians number only 417,372; of whom 113,325 are communicants. Hence, respecting the manner of conducting missions, many questions have arisen, and many changes been suggested. It has been proposed that the missionary should be unmarried, find his pecuniary resources in the country, have no settled habitation, constantly travel, and in every place be the guest of the heathen to whom he carries the message of eternal

life.¹ This proposal exhibits a very defective knowledge of native society. A European travelling in India, whether carpenter, tailor, shoemaker, weaver, or blacksmith, could not, as in England, obtain a livelihood by working at his trade in the respective places he visited, in few of them would he find employment, and where fortunate enough to do it, the wages he would earn would hardly be sufficient to supply him with one meal a-day. The Hindoo is courteous, and naturally not less kindly disposed than other people, but the institution of caste prohibits him from showing hospitality to foreigners. Allowing the Christian preacher to dine with him would unfit him for further social intercourse with his countrymen, cause him and all his children to be banished from society, to be loathed and shunned wherever they made their appearance. The Creator has provided for marriage, made it a law of the divine government, and deigned to bless it through all ages. To require the missionary to forego it, to take a vow of celibacy as a pre-requisite to his work, would be condemned by Scripture,² by reason, and by the history of the Church, be a grave encroachment on his freedom, and a species of interference likely to be productive of nothing but evil. Moreover, it is often the case that in schools, in visiting the sick, and leading on inquirers, the wife of a missionary is as useful to the heathen as her husband; and besides these labours she can make known the Christian religion in zenanas, into which the usages of the country do not permit him to enter.

Some devoted Roman Catholics located in the Presidency

¹ The proposal was made in the year 1869, in a speech delivered in Exeter Hall, by the Rev. Dr. Landels, at the annual missionary meeting of the Baptist Society, and was commended in a paper put forth by the secretary, Dr. Underhill.

² 1 Timothy iv. 3.

of Madras wore the Hindoo dress, and likewise, two excellent Protestants in the Presidency of Bengal, the Rev. Messrs. Bampton and Johnson. Mr. Bampton, who was a very eloquent Oorya preacher, laboured and died in Orissa. Mr. Johnson, who possesses a small private fortune, commenced life as an officer in one of the regiments of the line, and served gallantly through the Crimean campaign. His corps went to India during the Mutiny, and was stationed in Calcutta. There he changed the life of a soldier for that of a missionary, and, under the auspices of the Baptist Society, zealously laboured in the counties of Jessore and Burbhoom, and afterwards in the country of the Santals, one of the aboriginal tribes, where he had the misfortune to lose an arm in an encounter with a tiger. Compelled by sickness, he came home. Returning to India on the restoration of his health, and working for some time in the metropolis unconnected with any denomination, he ultimately joined the Wesleyans. Recently he endeavoured to make his way into Kafiristan, clothed in the native garb, and the newspapers contain interesting particulars of his journey. All Europeans who have adopted the native costume have doubtless been led to do so by the hope that they would gain in a greater degree the confidence and good-will of the people, and thus facilitate the accomplishment of the grand object which they had at heart; but it rather hindered than furthered that object, because they were often misunderstood. Some imputed to them impure designs; others regarded them with suspicion, believed they were spies sent to ferret out information for the Government; better natured persons thought they were insane, and commiserated their condition. Apprehensive their being foreigners was a hindrance to the prosperity of the sacred work in which they were engaged, the Jesuits of China shaved their heads and beards, wore long robes with large

sleeves, and collars that crossed over the breast, like the Booddhist monks of the country. The imitation was perfect, and taking them for the persons whose appearance they assumed, the inhabitants regarded them with the contempt they felt for the Booddhist ecclesiastics. So, instead of gaining respect, the Catholic missionaries lowered themselves in the estimation of the people, and rendered their labours increasingly difficult by wearing the Bonze costume ; they consequently laid it aside, adopted that of the literary class, and allowed their hair and beards to grow again.¹ Indeed, if usefulness is to be sought only in the path of eccentricity, missionaries will be outrun by Indian enthusiasts, for some, as an indication of their religious eminence, lay aside all clothing and go stark naked. It should never be forgotten that the Hindoos esteem Europeans for those qualities for which they themselves are not particularly distinguished, especially for their courage and straightforwardness ; therefore, to attempt to ignore the fact of our being foreigners is unwise,—it is not possible to succeed, and if it were, we have nothing to gain by it, but much to lose.

PAUCITY OF MISSIONARIES.

Owing to the fewness of the labourers, but little of the empire is brought under Christian teaching, vast regions remain unvisited. In confirmation of the truth of this statement a few facts, out of a multitude bearing on the subject, may be here mentioned. On one journey the number of towns and villages in which we preached was 209, and in 95 of them the Gospel had not, as far as could be ascertained, been previously made known ; yet some of these places, in

¹ "Christianity in China, Tartary, and Thibet," by M. L. Abbé Huc, vol. ii., p. 103.

which the voice of a minister had never been heard, contain as many as 1000 houses and probably not less than 5000 inhabitants. On another journey, we entered 137 villages in which a missionary had never been before; and on another, we preached in 446 towns and villages in 196 of which the news of salvation was then proclaimed for the first time. Indeed, there are tracts of country that contain a larger population than Scotland, in which there is only one missionary, and others in which there is none at all. Had the whole of Scotland only one minister, what cries, what floods of eloquence, in sermons, speeches, and pamphlets, would be poured forth to arouse the Christian world to relieve that spiritually destitute land; yea, what devout, earnest, and importunate supplications would ascend to the Lord of Sabaoth that He would remember His covenant. But India awakens little commiseration; yet there, owing to the means of evangelization being exceedingly limited, millions close their earthly career without having had one single opportunity of learning the way to heaven.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE UNION OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

SOME religions are intended for particular communities or nations, and rather check than encourage a proselytizing spirit.¹ Christianity is for the whole of the human family; and to carry it to the ends of the earth, and proclaim it in every tongue, is a duty assigned the Church.² This duty is discharged in the present day by the means of societies, whose directors gratuitously devote to them much valuable time, and contribute in a generous manner to their revenues; and, in a greater or less degree, the divine blessing rests on the fields of labour occupied by the ministers they have sent abroad. These societies are affectionately regarded by all classes of Christians, and no one would wish for a change in them, unless it promised to augment their usefulness. Is such an alteration possible? Candour gives to this important question an affirmative answer. But let it be distinctly understood that no reflection is intended to be cast upon men whose piety, zeal, and munificence place them among the excellent of the earth. If by a different organisation the usefulness of missionary societies can be augmented, no persons will rejoice more than the directors of those institutions; and

¹ Hindooism is such a religion.

² Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Mark xvi. 15.

from them especially is anticipated for the following remarks an unprejudiced hearing.

The union of missionary societies must be preceded by a closer union than exists at present between the respective branches of the Church, by a greater readiness to allow zeal for the denomination to give place to zeal for Christ. To furnish convincing proof of the divine character of the Redeemer's mission, and thus facilitate the diffusion of His word and the establishment of His kingdom, the union of His followers is needed.¹ This union, cemented by affection and good offices, is to be the outward sign of the religion of Christians to the end of the world ;² yet, strange as it may appear, bitter sectarian hostility is sometimes exhibited by people whose piety one dare not question—so great is the influence of bigotry to warp the understanding, and check the feeling of brotherhood. The less important the subjects be on which opposite views are taken, the wider is the breach that keeps parties asunder ; for, contrary to the course of reason, prejudice gathers strength rather from small than from great matters.

It must be allowed that in creating the human mind free, unrestrained in the exercise of its faculties, God fore-saw there would be differences of opinion even among good men,—and differences He permits. Diversity is the natural result of mental activity, perfect agreement on every point is impossible, for nothing except stagnation of thought can produce it ; but to union such agreement is not absolutely necessary. To confirm this every one may draw proofs from the scenes around him. In all ranks and conditions of people he may see that life-long friendships, glowing with increasing ardour, subsist without uniformity of opinion ; and that members of families, taking dissimilar views of important topics, cherish for each other a love

¹ John xvii. 21.

² John xiii. 34, 35.

which, instead of diminishing, becomes more intense with the lapse of time; therefore, differences of opinion, and especially when most of them relate to subjects on which the sacred volume is as silent as the grave, can afford no valid reasons to justify the existence of so little union between Christian communities in Britain. The paralysing effects of sectarianism are everywhere apparent. In the relative position of Catholics and Protestants little change has taken place during the period of three hundred years. The forces which for a while swept everything before them stopped in their course. As a victorious army weakened by unnecessary divisions ceases to be a conquering host, the Reformers, separated into numerous sects, ceased to be fitted for aggressive war. Hence it has happened that since the death of Luther and Calvin not a single nation has been delivered from the bondage of Rome. There are now in England and Wales more than a hundred sects,¹ and were a census taken of the rest of the kingdom, the list would be greatly augmented. In foreigners, and even in Englishmen who have been long abroad, few things in this country create more surprise than the great number of its taverns and churches, and the striking contrast which the crowded state of the former presents to the thin attendance in the latter.²

¹ The various religious bodies in England and Wales, whose places of worship are certified to the Registrar-General, will be found mentioned, as described by themselves, in Whitaker's Almanac, year 1884, p. 204. It may be proper to remark that some are entered twice under different names; for example, "Moravians and United Brethren," who are the same denomination of Christians; "Peculiar and Strict Baptists," who are the same branch of the Baptist community; "Ranters and Primitive Methodists," who are the same section of the followers of Wesley. The Shakers are not comprised in the list, and probably others have not registered themselves. However, the number recorded is large—168,—and from it a pretty correct idea may be formed of the sectarian spirit of the age.

² More than half of the sittings provided in places set apart for

The noble piles reared by our forefathers were built in places in which sacred edifices were needed. Now, churches are erected where, within a few hundred yards, many already stand half-empty; several sects may be found in the same street acting as rivals, or quietly ignoring each others' existence. In certain parts of Wales there is a separate chapel for about every 200 people; in the Machynlleth district, for every 184; and in the Dolgelly district, for every 164.¹ In all the counties of England there are to be found places whose population is hardly sufficient to fill one sanctuary, yet have several, besides the parish church. The Rev. W. M. Paul, of Romsey, says: "I was one Sabbath evening being driven into a village of some 300 inhabitants, where I had engaged to preach, when, as I entered the green, I saw, to my surprise, three chapels all in a row, and a-blaze with oil-lamps. On asking which of these was to be my sphere of duty, I was told none of them, and that the Independent Chapel was farther down the street. I need not say that I had a scanty audience, although my informant told me, with evident pride, that it was the best of the four, and accompanied his statement with sundry depreciating remarks upon the quality of the other congregations."² The spirit which pervades Scotland is not of a less sectarian character. "In a scattered hamlet in the parish of Walls, there are to be seen three churches standing side by side—a Methodist, an Independent, and an Established,—and over the hill, a Free Church. The minister of the Free Church passes over to the island of Foula, where there are only 200 people,

Divine worship were empty on the Sunday the census was taken in 1851; 45 per cent. was the highest number occupied by any body of Christians.—"Official Report of the Census," p. 92.

¹ *Public Opinion*, Saturday, 13th April, 1872, p. 467.

² "The Congregational Year Book for 1871," pp. 121, 122.

and dispenses the sacrament to 14 persons ; the Established minister goes to the same island, and dispenses the sacrament to 12 ; and the Independent minister attends to his own people there too. Lerwick, with a population of 3000, has no less than eight churches and eight denominations.”¹ What are the results of such a state of things ? A vast amount of money, which, if wisely appropriated, might have been of great service to religion, is sunk and irrecoverably lost in rearing a superfluous number of sanctuaries. Many pastors, distinguished for learning, piety, and devotedness, are doomed to penury. In all parts of the country, and especially in the rural districts, there are to be found in every Christian community ministers with families who have to subsist on salaries considerably less than an artisan’s wages. Several clergymen preaching in several separate buildings to small congregations, which, without the least inconvenience, could be accommodated in a single edifice, causes a great waste of mental power throughout the whole kingdom every Sunday in the year. Several churches being erected where the population is barely sufficient for one, their pecuniary resources soon begin to fail ; then a struggle for existence ensues, in which each is tempted to resort to unworthy means to get out of its difficulties—to try to strengthen itself by weakening its neighbour ; zeal for the denomination takes the place of zeal for Christ ; in contentions the spirit of Christianity is lost, and its name dishonoured. Devout persons of education and refinement stand aloof, apprehensive of meeting in such scenes with impediments to a religious life.

In consequence of this great waste of mental and material

¹ Speech of the late Rev. Dr. Guthrie at a meeting, held in Edinburgh, 29th March, 1872, of members of the Free Church in favour of union with other bodies.—*The Times*, Monday, 1st April, 1872, p. 4.

resources on sectarianism, comparatively little is done to improve the spiritual condition of the world. Nearly as many heathens live in the metropolis, within the sound of the Cathedral bells, as modern missionaries have gathered into Christian churches in foreign lands.¹ What the latter were before their conversion, the former to all intents and purposes are now ;—they show no reverence for the authority of Jehovah, no obedience to His laws ; ignore all the present duties of religion, as well as its awful and glorious revelations of a future life ; begin, continue, and finish their course without any recognition of God ;—and the state of London, with but slight modifications, is the state of the towns and cities in the provinces. Probably two-fifths—more than fourteen millions—of the population of the United Kingdom, live in the habitual neglect of divine worship. They consist mainly of the industrious classes, who have great temptations, necessities, and sorrows, and are therefore much in need of the gospel to counsel and console them ; and as they do not go to church to hear it, what course could be more appropriate than the clergy going to them to preach its doctrines. On finding the mountain would not come to him, Mohammed obviated the difficulty by going to the mountain. If all Protestant communities rose above the influence of prejudice, and allowed zeal for Christ to take the place of zeal for the denomination, 16,000 of their ministers might every Sunday be relieved from the duties of the sanctuary to the labour out of doors, or in buildings to which the public would resort ; and if these be too few to do the work, there is suitable lay agency to help them to carry it on. Almost everywhere are to be found eminently pious, much-esteemed, and well educated laymen who are

¹ Their converts now number 1,650,000 ; of these, communicants or adults in full Christian fellowship form between a third and a fourth.

good speakers. In the letters which the sacred writers addressed to the primitive Churches, such persons are commanded to use their talents for the furtherance of the gospel. Estimated at only one in every two hundred attendants at church, they would number fifty thousand ; and if able to devote a portion of every other Sunday to preaching, the aid they would render would be incalculably great. About the certainty of success there can be only one opinion, for history tells us that earnest men, by the simple proclamation of the Gospel, have again and again moved the masses. It was not political sympathy, parochial influence, charitable doles, or a gorgeous ceremonial that drew tens of thousands in every part of the kingdom to listen to the ministry of Wesley and Whitefield. Whether they preached in sacred edifices, in barns, on high-roads, on commons, in markets, or fairs, the words which they spoke fell not on inattentive hearers. The vast assemblies in Moorfields, the rough miners of Cornwall, the cotton-spinners of Lancashire, the wool-combers of Yorkshire, the Kingswood and Newcastle colliers, the inhabitants of towns and of rural districts everywhere eagerly gathered around them, feeling religion, as they never felt it before, to be a great reality, and grasping its cardinal doctrines with extraordinary energy. In this way prophets, apostles, reformers, and martyrs instructed the people. Indeed, the greatest Person that ever trod the face of the earth preached in the open air ;—the wisdom, purity, and sublimity of His doctrines, the power, pathos, and unction with which they were taught, drew from listening crowds the best of plaudits : “ Never man,” said they, “ spake like this man ; ”¹—and can there be ministers who would think it undignified to do what the Creator and Redeemer of the world did ?

Those who nearly despair of separate communities being

¹ John vii. 46.

amalgamated in England, deplore the divisions of the Church at home, and would deprecate their being perpetuated abroad by the agency of missions. For surely, if nowhere else, in the face of the terrible religions of the pagan world Christians should hear with reverence the injunctions of the Saviour, and breathe the catholicity He strove to inculcate;¹ remove from their vision the film of prejudice; rise in thought and affection above whatever is one-sided, petty, and paltry; and labour together as brethren, presenting not a caricature, but a living picture, of the faith they go to propagate. In such union there is nothing of an impracticable nature. Some of the home-missions established in the towns and cities of America and Europe breathe this catholic spirit. Different communities cordially unite in conducting them, and are eminently blessed in their labours. For disseminating the sacred volume, all Churches unite in one great institution, whose usefulness reaches to the ends of the earth. The pence of the poor and the silver and gold of the rich flow into its coffers, and it is impossible to say which religious community loves and serves it most. For each sect to have its own institution is a project of which no one dreams, and the mere mention of it would everywhere be offensive. But suppose all religious communities had their Bible societies, with their separate depositories, committees, executive offices, and anniversary meetings—leaving out of consideration the feeling of estrangement likely to be engendered, a feeling obstructive to the growth of elevated personal piety—a large portion of the funds would be consumed on establishments which the experience of eighty years has proved to be quite unnecessary. The foregoing observations apply to foreign missionary societies; for these societies are in a state of isolation in every part of Christendom, and, though conducted with economy, the

¹ John xv. 12.

aggregate expenditure on their home establishments is a large percentage of their revenues.

Besides the important consideration of economy, the saving of many thousand pounds, now expended on home establishments, which, in the event of societies amalgamating, would cease to be needed, there is another light in which this subject is to be contemplated. It is to be considered in its bearing on the spiritual life of the countries for whose conversion missionary societies are established. Is this grand work likely to be facilitated by a sectarian spirit, that tends to blight everything on which it breathes? Are the simple and beneficent doctrines of the gospel likely to be more acceptable by being associated with conflicting systems of ecclesiastical polity? Is the example of the Redeemer, embodying every excellence, human and divine, which the devout, the wise, and tolerant of every age have striven to imitate, likely to be commended by differences among His followers about things which they all acknowledge to be in no way necessary to salvation, and which are rather European growths on Christianity than Christianity itself? There appears to be an idea prevailing in large circles, found in every part of the kingdom, that the inhabitants of idolatrous lands are necessarily barbarians, and, therefore, unable to form an accurate judgment of the men and the things of Christian countries. Into a greater mistake than this it is hardly possible to fall. India has been in a high state of civilization for many ages. Thousands of her sons have studied the respective branches of Western learning; are well acquainted with the language, the literature, science, philosophy, and religion of England; and when they visit its shores, how are they affected by what they witness? One who has done much to reclaim his countrymen from polytheism, thinking of Christianity as he reads of it in the New Testament, and as he saw it

developed in modern Churches, felt, amid numerous sects, great perplexity, and said, "Not one of them fully represented Christ's idea of the kingdom of God."¹ Such was the impression which Church divisions made on the mind of Kishub Chondro Sen during his visit to Britain, and, no doubt, they make the same impression on the minds of his countrymen in India. The petty and paltry distinctions of sects draw off the minds of the heathen from the essentials of religion, and thus retard their conversion, the grand object which all Christians profess to have at heart. Perhaps not one person in a thousand desires to establish in foreign lands all the sects that exist in Britain. Few would give their money with the design of kindling abroad the prejudices and antipathies which prevail in religious communities at home; but if this incidentally happen, it is almost the same as if it were purposely done, and the present state of things rather tends to bring it on than ward it off. In the locating of missionaries, the denominational spirit is developed. All branches of the Church not only send out their separate missions, but frequently to the same places. There are seven distinct societies in Calcutta, with their respective staffs of foreign and native agents; while there are large counties which have only two missionaries, some which have only one, and regions, whose population is a million and a quarter greater than that of Scotland, which have none at all. Consequently, the want of other spheres to labour in has not been the reason of so many societies congregating in a single city. With but slight change, the above remarks apply to Madras and Bombay. The latter has five, and the former seven societies. Christian harmony has occasionally been interrupted by this proximity of sects, and if not so often as might be apprehended, it has been owing to the excellent temper of the missionaries of the

¹ Kishub Chondro Sen's "Visit to England," p. 368.

respective communities. "The sectarian form in which Christianity has been introduced is a stumbling-block to many who have become somewhat acquainted with its principles."¹ Speaking of Church distinctions, the Rev. R. Johnston, of Grahamstown, observes: "Such rude, barbarian people as the Kafirs are not to be expected to know, much less understand, these differences. But being a quick, shrewd people, they take notice of them; they inquire about them; and the very fact and necessity of explaining them once and again necessarily gives a prominence to them in Christian teaching which is above their importance; and thus the genuine quality of the Christian power is interfered with, and it is less fitted to accomplish the work for which it was intended."² On this subject the late Dr. Gray, Bishop of Capetown, says: "Read several numbers of the *Missionary Register*, which gave me as much pain as pleasure. If England and America are converting the heathen in Africa, the West Indies, and elsewhere, they are at the same time carrying with them the schisms which are the disgrace of our age, and the canker-worm of our religion."³ The late Dr. Milman, Bishop of Calcutta, says: "Our divisions are certainly saddening, and a greater stumbling-block than people fancy."⁴

This subject is also to be viewed in its relation to the converts gathered from the heathen world. Must they take up our prejudices, badges, and shibboleths; "be grouped and stereotyped into Episcopal, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Methodist, Baptist, or Independent Churches, and adopt as

¹ "Hindooism and its Relations to Christianity," by the Rev. John Robson, M.A., p. 304.

² "The Chronicle of the London Missionary Society," November, 1872, p. 67.

³ "Life of Bishop Gray," vol. i. p. 78.

⁴ "Memoir of Bishop Milman," p. 190.

their respective creeds the Confession of Faith, the Thirty-nine Articles, or some other formula approved by our forefathers, and the separating sign of some British or American sect? Whether any Church seriously entertains this design I know not, though I suspect it of some, and I feel assured that it will be realized in part as conversions increase, and at last be perpetuated, unless it is now carefully guarded against by every opportunity being watched and taken advantage of to propagate a different idea, and rear up an independent and all-inclusive native Indian Church."¹ The converts naturally follow the opinions of the community by whose instructions they have been benefited, and, as increasing years strengthen the feeling of gratitude to their fathers in Christ, they continue to observe the ecclesiastical peculiarities to which they have been habituated, and to invest them with something of a sacred character. In this way all sects will eventually spread themselves over the fields of labour, and with the progress of missions there will everywhere be the progress of denominationalism. Already there are sixty-nine different societies in Great Britain and Ireland,² besides the American, the Danish, the German, the French, the Swiss, and the Dutch societies. Different societies are at work in our Colonies, in the Turkish empire, in Madagascar, and in many other portions of the earth. There are about a dozen high ecclesiastics in Jerusalem, bishops and patriarchs, "speaking many languages, observing various rites, in hostile communions, and not without some difference of creeds."³ In memory of the great traveller and the great catholic Christian, Livingstone, six

¹ Dr. Norman Macleod's "Account of his Visit to India." See his "Memoir," vol. ii. p. 430.

² Canon Scott Robertson's "Summary of Foreign Missions," the *Daily News*, 21st November, 1877, p. 3.

³ The *Times*, Saturday, 31st May, 1879, p. 11.

societies have established separate missions amid the scenes of those geographical discoveries which will immortalize his name.¹ All classes and all creeds followed the remains of Livingstone to Westminster Abbey, the resting-place of the illustrious dead, because it was felt that he belonged not to one community but to the whole of Christendom. How appropriate would have been the same absence of the denominational spirit in the efforts to evangelize the new fields of labour he opened up to the Church. There are twenty-six societies in China: eleven American, thirteen British, and two Continental societies.² Thirty-five societies have been imported into India, and there are fresh importations almost every year. Their proximity, even when harmony is preserved, which is not always the case, causes a great waste of mental and material resources; and drawing of the mind to things which are of no vital importance retards the spiritual advancement of the members of the respective Churches. For, if able theologians in Europe find it difficult to determine what are the peculiar merits or excellences of different religious bodies, how is the poor convert³ in Asia to do it, who has only the Bible to guide him, where Christians are a household, a family, a brotherhood,⁴ and where sectarian distinctions, if ever named, call forth the language of condemnation. True piety is of divine origin, and the common portion of the whole body of the faithful, and as the gift of God is to be spoken of with

¹ Church Missionary Society, University Mission, London Missionary Society, Scotch Missions, United Methodist Mission, Baptist Missionary Society.

² "Conference on Foreign Missions," Mildmay Park, London, 1878, p. 171.

³ Hitherto, the converts have mainly consisted of the industrious classes; a few, but only a few, of the rich and the learned have yet embraced Christianity.

⁴ Gal. vi. 10; Eph. ii. 19; Eph. iii. 15; 1 Peter ii. 17; Rom. xii. 5.

reverence whatever may be the denomination of its possessors.¹ The Church is a spiritual edifice, and not to be confounded with the scaffolding used by the various workmen, for that, like other scaffolding, will be taken down, and the builders, gazing at the finished structure, will weep for joy, will emulate each other in self-renunciation and in ascriptions of praise to the Redeemer. Notwithstanding the caricatures produced by theologians of conflicting schools of thought, Christianity, as it came from the lips of its Founder, has no narrowness, no hardness, no bigotry, no intolerance; it is like Himself, just, compassionate, self-sacrificing, and comprehends within the range of its sympathies the whole of the human race. Its love is like parental and divine love, it is not diminished by the number that share it. The Saviour assured His followers that oneness and love would be evidence to the world of their discipleship and of the divine character of His mission.² In the place of oneness there is diversity in creeds, formulas, worship, and in the administration of baptism and the eucharist. This is a great hindrance to missions; it perplexes the minds of the heathen, augments their difficulties in understanding Christianity, and, it is to be feared, repels many from embracing it. Moreover, it is objectionable not only to Mohammedans and Hindoos, but to a considerable number of excellent native Christians. They deprecate the conflicting systems of ecclesiastical polity set up among them and yearn for a united Church. Some of the more advanced belonging to the respective communities in Bombay have formed the "Western India Native Christian Alliance," and their brethren in Calcutta have formed the "National Christian Church of Bengal."

Baboo Tarini Churn Mitter, a highly respected Deputy-

¹ Eph. ii. 8; John vi. 44, 65; James i. 17, 18.

² John xvii. 21; xiii. 34, 35.

magistrate, asks: "Is it because we have received Christianity through the agency of the Western churches that we are to perpetuate among ourselves their church polity? It should not be so. It is necessary for our edification that we should be united together, and form ourselves into one Native church. We have all been rescued from idolatry and false religions; we all profess to be brethren in Christ; we all jointly believe certain fundamental truths of the Gospel; and we know that divisions in the Church give rise to strife and unpleasant feeling. We have not received Christianity from our forefathers, so that we must keep up certain historical associations. The churches of Europe and America may please themselves by keeping up their historical associations, but fortunately we have none. Christianity has come to us through foreigners, and while we are to be thankful to them for what they have done for us and our country, we are not bound to perpetuate their divisions. As a United Native Church we shall be able to present a bold front to the heathenism of our land. We must bear in mind that 'unity is strength.' The division of the Christian Church in this country, I fear, is one of the great obstacles to the spread of Christian truth among our countrymen, for they cannot understand that there is anything like love among men who are divided into so many sects."¹

Speaking of native christians, Lord Northbrook, late Viceroy and Governor-General of India, says: "I believe that they will go farther back, and get rid of much of the dogma which has overlaid the foundations of Christianity for nearly 1800 years; and some of us may live to see them adopt a form of Christianity more nearly approaching the simplicity of the Apostolic Church than any which now

¹ A paper read before the "Bengal Christian Association," on "The Necessity of a United Native Christian Church," pp. 6, 7.

exists.”¹ To build up such a Church most people will devoutly wish that missionary societies may amalgamate, rise above the denominational distinctions of the age, shake off sectarian prejudice, and publish the gospel among the nations of the earth in a catholic spirit, presenting to the world, in their union and love, a convincing proof of their own discipleship and of the divine character of the Redeemer’s mission.²

¹ Speech at Falmouth, *Homeward Mail*, Friday, 18th August, 1876, page 941.

² John xiii. 34, 35 ; xvii. 20, 23.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE INDIAN ORIGIN OF THE GIPSIES.¹

SCATTERED in nearly every region of the globe and forming, no permanent alliances with the nations among whom they wander, the gipsies continue, like the Jews, a distinct and peculiar people.² Praiseworthy endeavours to ameliorate their social and moral condition have wrought but little radical change in their character, and the spirit of tyranny, breathing banishment, confiscation, and death, has failed to exterminate their race, or repress its wild, adventurous daring.

The gipsies generally lead an out-door life, taking shelter from the snow, the rain, the heat, and the cold, in small tents or rudely formed vans, and have a strong prejudice against dwelling in houses. Their antipathy to it, and

¹ The gipsies are variously designated in different countries. In France, they are called Bohemians; in Spain, Gitanos; in Portugal, Cygana; in Germany, Zigeuner; in Holland, Heidew; in Sweden and Denmark, Tartars; in Italy, Zengari; in Hungary, Cygani, Czygani, and Tzygani; in Russia, Tzingani; in Turkey and Syria, Chingani; in Persia, Luri and Kanli; in Hindoostan, Nuts and Bazeegurs.

² According to Sir Thomas Browne they appeared or were first noticed in Germany in the year 1400, but Munster and Spelman fix their appearance in that part of the world seventeen years later. They were noticed in Bavaria in 1411; in Saxony, in 1417; in Italy, in 1418; in France, in 1427; and in England, laws were framed against them in the reign of Henry VIII., from which it is highly probable that they had then been in that country many years.

unwillingness to avail themselves, even in the most trying circumstances, of the comforts which it affords, are exhibited in a remarkable incident related by Dr. Leadbeater of Overton in Hampshire. "I was," he says, "sent for to attend Barbara Ayres in her accouchement. I found her under one of their usual tents; and in the space of an hour after my arrival she was delivered of a female child. The first thing which suggested itself to me, was the necessity of removing her into a house, where she might receive the attention her situation required. A horse and cart with a bed were sent to convey her to the parish workhouse, but on reaching the tent, to my great surprise she was very indignant at our thinking that under any circumstances she would ever sleep under the roof of a dwelling-house—her words were, 'She never had, nor never would.' The following night a tremendous storm of wind, rain, and thunder came on, the tent under which she lay was blown over the hedge, and for two hours she was exposed to the violence of the storm, without suffering the least after inconvenience."¹

Most gipsies follow occupations which do not render permanent residence in a place necessary, and are compatible with a wandering life. They make rugs, nets, mats, and brooms; wicker chairs, stools, baskets, and sieves; wooden toys, spoons, trenchers, and dishes; play on the harp, fife, and fiddle; tell fortunes and perform the feats of legerdemain; are tinkers and grinders of razors, scissors, and knives, and occasionally follow, it is alleged, occupations of a less respectable character.

The Bajeehors,² some of whom are thought to bear a close

¹ Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. ii. part i. pp. 522, 523.

² Bajee, legerdemain, an exhibition. Bajeehor, a person who exhibits legerdemain tricks or feats of activity.

affinity to the gipsies, are Indian jugglers, whose fame is widely spread. In their feats, and especially as reputed charmers of snakes, they deceive, by wonderful skill, the most vigilant spectators, so that not only Hindoos and Mohammedans, but nearly all European residents, give them credit for the possession of extraordinary powers. I have carefully watched them, but could never detect the artifice practised. One day I paid a juggler to let me into the secret. He went with me into my study, and there showed me, fastened to the cord which natives usually wear round their waist, several bags, made of strong cotton cloth, and in shape like a garden hose, tied at the mouth with a string, in each of which there was a snake, whose fangs had been extracted. While in the compound,¹ where he caught, or rather pretended to have caught, four snakes, he wore a coarse red cloth, folded round his loins and reaching to his knees, which covered the bags. He played on a flute, bustled about, made much noise, frequently gave expression to great surprise, and while stooping down, which he often did, as if descriing something a little before him, managed to loosen the string of one of the bags, when, glad to escape from such close confinement, out rushed the snake, and without being perceived he placed it near a hole in the ground, and, pointing to the spot, shouted, "There it is, there it is;" the people gazed at it, and then cheered him, really believing it had been drawn from its concealment by the sounds of the flute. Of the great skill of the juggler some idea may be formed by the proofs which he gave of it while in the study. With four persons within a yard or two of him, watching his movements, and who knew the snakes were in the bag round his waist, he put a cobra,

¹ "Compound" is a corruption of the Portuguese word *campones*, and is used by the English in India to signify the grounds or inclosure in which a house stands.

several feet long, on the anti-macassar of an arm-chair without any one of us seeing it till he pointed it out to us. By this instance of successful dexterity our vigilance was much increased, but he contrived to elude it, produced another snake, which we did not see till he asked us to look at the writing-desk in the middle of the room, on which it was crawling.

On their first appearance in France they were received as Christians, and treated with respect and kindness, but losing, by their conduct, the good opinion of the Government, they were banished from the realm, and in the event of returning, sentenced to the galleys. In Spain, they were commanded to lay aside every distinction that marked them out as a peculiar race, to leave those parts of towns where they lived together, to amalgamate with the rest of the inhabitants, and to attend Christian worship in the church of the parish in which they resided. If they wandered about the roads, or in the solitudes of forests and mountains, the police seized and dragged them to the nearest judicial officer, who had authority to order them to be fined, flogged, imprisoned, reduced to slavery, driven from the kingdom, or suspended to the gallows. In Austria, an ordinance was issued, enjoining that they should dwell in settled habitations, occupy themselves in manual labour, clothe their children, and send them to school; and that "new peasants" should be substituted for the name by which they had hitherto been known. This edict proving ineffectual, recourse was had to severe and despotic measures: the children were taken from their parents, taught the catechism, and forced to conform to the Christian religion. As might have been foreseen, instead of being productive of good, this indefensible and cruel policy strengthened the deep-rooted prejudices of the vagrants, and confirmed them in their evil courses. The statutes of England described them as an outlandish people, going in

great companies from shire to shire, perpetrating many heinous crimes, and deluding the inhabitants of their money by palmistry. On one occasion, at the Suffolk Assizes, as many as thirteen were executed.¹ The laws which were promulgated to reform the hordes that roamed over the Russian dominions were of a mild and beneficent character, but they failed to accomplish the object contemplated. In Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, the treatment the gipsies received varied, as in other countries, with the spirit of the age, and the character of the men at the head of affairs ; sometimes wise and benevolent exertions were made to render them useful members of society, at other times the whole power of the constituted authorities was directed against them, framing sanguinary laws, and executing them to the very letter.

Though the vast majority of the gipsies live in the habitual neglect of divine worship, some not only go to church, but are truly pious, and among these there are preachers of the gospel. In the summer of 1882, in a large crowded tent, belonging to an evangelistic society, I heard two of them relate the story of their conversion in simple words, earnestly spoken. No self-laudation marred the story, the great spiritual change was attributed to its proper source, and praise given to the Redeemer. They commended religion to the serious consideration of the audience in language of passionate fervour ; enforcing their appeal by the elevating, holy, and happy influence it sheds on the present life, and by its promise of future bliss and glory. The service was of a deeply interesting character, and contained not anything at which the most fastidious person could take offence.

¹ The barbarous laws enacted in Great Britain against the gipsies were repealed by Statute 23 Geo. III. c. 51, which ordains that the gipsies be treated, not as felons, but as vagrants.

The best conducted researches to ascertain the origin of the gipsies can establish little more than probability. The most that can be done is to examine the respective hypotheses which have been advanced, and give credence to the least extravagant. Apprehensive, when they first made their appearance in Europe, that their lives, perhaps, would have been in danger had they revealed their pagan origin, and hoping to excite the sympathy of Christians, they declared themselves to be disciples of Jesus whom persecution had driven from the banks of the Nile. From this statement the opinion of their being Egyptians most probably arose; but the fact that they are regarded in the land of the Pharaohs as foreigners, and live there as in other countries quite separate from the rest of the inhabitants, preserving all their peculiar characteristics, shows that the opinion is not well founded.

Ferdusi¹ informs us that, at the request of Bahram, the Persian monarch, the gipsies were sent from India by Shankal, king of Canouj,² and the reason of his soliciting them to visit his dominions is thus assigned: "The king addressed letters to the priests of each province, inquiring who was distressed, and where the poor were afflicted, demanding of them every information relative to the state of his empire, that the same might be communicated to the royal heart. Each robed and noble sage replied that the face of the country was populous, and on every side thanksgivings were heard:

¹ Ferdusi, a celebrated Persian poet, was born in Shadab, in Khorassan, about 930 A.D., and died in his native town in 1020; his great poem, the Shah Nameh, is a history of the Persian monarchy from its foundation till the year 641 A.D.

² Canouj is situated to the west of the Ganges, about sixty-five miles north-west from Lucknow. It was a place of great renown, the capital of a powerful empire, and is said to have been built more than a thousand years before the Christian era. It now consists of only one street.

the indigent alone complaining to His Majesty of the hardness of the times ; that the opulent drank wine, and ornamented their heads with chaplets of flowers, quaffing their liquor to the sound of music, without reflecting on their poorer fellow-creatures. The king smiled at the complaint, and to remedy the evil despatched an envoy with the following message to Shankal, King of Canouj : ‘ O prince, attentive to justice, the indigent classes here drink wine without music, a circumstance of which the wealthier cannot approve. Therefore, of those Luri choose and send me ten thousand male and female who play upon the lute.’ The Luri were accordingly sent to the Persian king, who assigned them an appropriate residence, and gave to each individual a cow and an ass. He desired them to nominate a village chief, and bestowed also a thousand loads of wheat on such as were most deserving, to the end that, labouring with their kine and asses they might reap in due season the seed of their wheat, and thus enable his poor subjects to have their music gratuitously performed. The Luri departed, and heedlessly consuming all their wheat as well as their cows, towards the end of the year were left shamelessly destitute. The king rebuked them for their lavish conduct in wasting the corn, and neglecting to harvest any crop, and then dismissed them with an order that, taking their asses, they should load them with their chattels, and support themselves by means of their songs and the strumming of their silken bows, and that each year they should travel over the country, and sing for the amusement of the high and the low. The Luri, agreeably to this mandate, now wander about the world seeking employment, associating with dogs and wolves, and thieving on the road by day and by night.”

Among those who believe in the Eastern origin of the gipsies no unanimity prevails either respecting the class

from which they descended, or the cause and period of their emigration. They are, it is said, the illegitimate issue of Hindoos, the identical bastards of whom the sage Monoo speaks in his institutes of sacred law;¹ a race of beings sprung from an adulterous commerce carried on between the disciples of Brohma and heterodox mountain tribes; descendants of certain scavengers who, among other carrion upon which they occasionally fed, ate the carcass of the cow, an animal deemed sacred, for which they fell under the displeasure of the Brahmons, and were obliged to leave the country; a gang of notorious robbers who left the East to escape the gallows; refugees who fled from the barbarous ferocity of Timour,—this last hypothesis is supported by some degree of probability, for between the invasion of India by that monarch and the earliest notice of the gipsies in Europe, there intervened little more than one year, the period from October 1398 to 1400, which it is not unreasonable to suppose was passed in Persia, Arabia, and Egypt, countries through which the emigrants most likely took their route in journeying from the land of their fathers.² But whether they fled as unclean persons from

¹ The Institutes of Monoo, x. 20, 21, 22, 23.

² The history of the wars of Timour is little else than a chronicle of crimes. One of the most atrocious deeds ever committed he perpetrated at Delhi, on the 12th of December, 1398. The camp was full of prisoners, and fearing they would, in the event of a reverse, rise against him, he commanded that all above fifteen years of age should die; and, in less than an hour after the order was given, Ferishta, the Moham-medan historian, tells us, as many as a hundred thousand were put to death. Subsequently to this awful atrocity the troops plundered the city and massacred the inhabitants, the blood of the slain ran in the streets like water. On the 17th of December, 1398, Timour was proclaimed emperor. The invasion of India occupied him little more than five months, but those months were months of blood, and that some of those who then fled from the country travelled to Europe is not an unreasonable supposition.

the reproaches of men of pure caste, as criminals from the sword of justice, or as conquered people from the power of the oppressor, their language points to India as the place of their birth. The following list of words, though short, is perhaps sufficiently long to show that it bears a resemblance to the Sanskrit and its off-shoot tongues too close to be the work of accident, and can be accounted for only on the supposition that these vagrant tribes originally came from the Land of the Sun.

NUMERALS FROM ONE TO TEN IN THE GIPSY, HINDOSTANI, BENGALI, AND SANSKRIT LANGUAGES.¹

English.	English Gipsy.	English Gipsy.	Scottish Gipsy.	German Gipsy.	Hungarian Gipsy.	Hungarian Gipsy.	Turkish Gipsy.	Spanish Gipsy.	Norwegian Gipsy.	Hindustani.	Bengali.	Sanskrit.
	Hoyland.		Simson.	Grellman.	Bright.	Borrow.	Hoyland.	Borrow.	Smith.			
One	alck	yek	yalk	ek, lek	jig	jek	yek	yeque	jikh	ek	ek	eko
Two	doose	doocy	dule	daj, doj	dui	dui	daj	dui	dy	do, du	due, dwi	dui
Three	trin	tring	trin	tri, trin	tri	trin	trin	trin	trin	tin, tri	tin, tri	tri
Four	ahtar } staur }	star	tar	schtar } star }	stah	schtar	schtar	estar	ahtar	char	chotoor, chari	choter
Five	panjl	panch	punch	pantech } panusch }	paunch	pausch	panch	pausche	panech	panch } ponj }	panch } poncho }	poncho
Six	shove	shov	shaigh	schow, sof, } techowe }	schof	techov	ahove	job, zoi	sink	chho } shoah }	choy } shot }	shot
Seven	heftan	afta	..	efta	efta	efta	efta	hefta	sytt	sat, hof	sopto, sat	sopto
Eight	ochto	oitoo	..	ochto	opto	okto	otor	hescht	okto	ath, hoah	at, oah	oah
Nine	henva	enneah	..	enja, eija	ennia	eneja	enia	enia	engja	nou, nuh	nob, noy	novo
Ten	deah	deah	..	des, deesch	desch	desch	desch	deque	..	dos, doh	dosh	doso

¹ The Gipsy words have been taken from the following works:—"A Dissertation on the Gipsies," by H. M. G. Grellman, translated into English by M. Roper; London, 1787. "An Account of the Bajeekors, Bazerkurs, or Nuts," by Captain David Richardson, "Asiatic Researches," vol. vii. p. 451; London, 1808. "A Historical Survey of the Customs, Habits, and Present State of the Gipsies," by John Hoyland; York, 1816. "Travels through Lower Hungary," by Richard Bright, M.D.; Edinburgh, 1818. "The Zingali: or, An Account of the Gipsies in Spain," by George Borrow; London, 1841 and 1846. "The Dialect of the English Gipsies," by B. C. Smart, M.D., F.E.S.—Appendix to the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1862-63. "A History of the Gipsies," by Walter Simson; London, 1866. "Tent Life with English Gipsies in Norway," by Hubert Smith; London, 1878. There is a difference among the authors in their writing of Gipsy words, the same individual sounds strike the ear of different persons in a dissimilar manner, and this leads to the adoption of different modes of spelling.

WORDS IN THE GIPSY, HINDOSTANI, AND BENGALI LANGUAGES.

English.	English Gipsy.	Scottish Gipsy.	German Gipsy.	Hungarian Gipsy.	Spanish Gipsy.	Norwegian Gipsy.	Hindostani.	Bengali.
	Richardson, Hoyland, Bright, Smart, Simson, Smith.	Simson.	Grellman.	Bright, Borrow.	Borrow.	Smith.		
Belly	per, pur	.....	per	.....	.....	.....	pet	pet
Black	kalo, calo	callo	kalo	.....	.....	kalo	kala	kalo
Cow	gurny, groovny, gourumin	gournie	gurni	gourumin	.....	gurni	gao, goru	go, goi, gabhu
Day	devus, divous, davies	davies	dives	dives	chibes	dives	din	din, dibos
Kar	kan, can	.....	kan	jig, jag	can	kan	kan	kan
Eye	yok, yock	yak	aok	jakh	aquia	.....	ankh	rhokh, chokhyuh
Kar	dur, door	.....	dur	.....	.....	.....	door	door
Fear	trash	.....	.....	.....	.....	trash	.....	tras
Feather	pot, pur	.....	por	por	porunia	por	por	patha
Fire	jag, jeg, jog, yog	yak	jag	jig, jag	yague	jag	ag	agun
Fish	matcho, matcy, matschee, mutchee	.....	matschee	mazzo	macho	matijo	machh, moohli	machh, motayo
Flesh	mas, mass	mas	mas	.....	.....	mas	mans	maungo
Foot	peero, peroe	peerie	piro	pir	piro, pinadro	piro	paya, pair	pa, pod, paya
Gold	sonetkar, soonakey, soonakye	sonakie	sonna	sonkai	sonakal	sonnaka	sona	sona
Great	baro	.....	baro	baro	baro	baro	bora	boro
Head	schero, sherro, chero	sherro	schero	schero	jiro	schero	sor, sir	shir
Hair	bal, balo, ballan, ballow	.....	bal	bala	bal	bal	bal	bal
Horse	gra, gri, grie, grye	grye	gra, gree	.....	.....	grie	ghora	ghora
Hot	tato, taio, tatoo, tuttoo	tatio	tatio	totta	topio
House	gur, ker, kehr, kair, caro	kair	ker	cer, kehr	guar	ker	ghor	ghor

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